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International Affairs

U.S. Import Restrictions Denigrated

92AS1548D Karachi DAWN in English 29 Aug 92 p 11

[Editorial: "Unfair Action"]

[Text] Export of bed-sheets from Pakistan to the United States is threatened to be disrupted as Washington is reportedly getting ready to impose an embargo on their import. With four months of the year still to go, 98 per cent of the quota of this product is stated to have been utilised. Had Pakistan really made such a brisk use of the allocation, the quota-holding exporters would have been happy and the country too would have benefited. But the facts are different. A substantial portion of the quota on the Pakistan side is said to have remained unutilised, while at the other end (the United States), it is almost exhausted. Exports from third countries seem to have done the trick. The United States' contention is that Pakistani-origin products have been shipped from third countries like Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Malaysia, Spain, etc. Export of supposed Pakistani products from these and some other countries which either do not have quota limitations or have negotiated quotas much beyond their capacity to utilise is being adjusted by U.S. Customs against Pakistan's quota. And these transshipments are said to have taken place on such a vast scale that adjustments would continue to consume a substantial portion of Pakistani quota for the next two years.

Such adjustments are not new. They have been made in the past but they were never accepted as proper and just. The unfair shipments are made by unscrupulous exporters of third countries on whom the Pakistan government has no authority to restrain them from such irregular practices. If the U.S. Customs shows vigilance, it can certainly deny clearance. However, their lack of alertness is subsequently used to punish Pakistan. Depriving a country of its share of trade in a restricted market through malpractices committed by nationals of other countries is not only unethical but contrary to norms of civilised conduct. Pakistani businessmen may or may not be colluding in such irregularities. But even if there is any suspicion of collusion, action should wait until investigation and negotiations are completed.

In this case, action at the U.S. end was announced even before negotiations started in Washington. Such departures from established norms would continue so long as industrialised nations deviate from GATT rules of free trade. The sooner these deviations are ended the better for international trade. At home, the Pakistan government should hold an inquiry, expose the offenders (if there are any), their operations and impose severe punishment. Simultaneously measures need to be taken to protect innocent quota-holders whose shipments are threatened to be blocked in U.S. ports or whose goods

against valid orders await shipments and in this, cooperation of the U.S. administration can prevent denial of justice.

Analyst Uncomfortable With U.S. as Sole World Power

92AS1547I Karachi DAWN (Supplement) in English 28 Aug 92 pp I-II

[Article by Iqbal Akhund: "The Sole Superpower"; first three paragraphs are DAWN introduction; italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Excerpts] What would be Pakistan's place in the new order and how should we pursue our ends in the new dispensation? After all, we are under increasing American pressure on a number of points.

"Uncle Lawrence," said Dinny, "what do you think of the Americans?... Don't you think they want to have things their own way too much?"

Galsworthy in The Forsythe Saga

The defeat of communism has ended the great ideological contention of the century, leaving America in the position, seemingly, of having things its own way as much as it likes. President Bush has declared that there is to be a new order in the world. What will be its shape? Americans themselves don't quite seem to know.

According to a CIA study, having emerged on top, the main task of the United States should be to keep friend of former foe from trying to muscle in. A more measured view sees America in a role of leadership not domination, as catalyst not the cutting edge of the new order. In all events, in the coming years the United States will be the one that sets the agenda of world politics, decides what will be the priorities, what issues are to be taken up and which ones put on the back-burner.

The United States is a democratic, pluralistic society that gives a high place to human rights and freedom. One assumes that it will want to promote these values all over. But like any country it will pursue first of all its own interests. One cannot take it for granted that these will always coincide with the democratic cause, at least not in the Third World. Moreover, and this is democracy's Achilles' heel, a democratic government must often bend to domestic compulsions and short-term considerations, sometimes even to passing moods and popular prejudices. Witness for instance, the U.S. position at the Rio Conference on Environment and earlier, on the law of the sea; America's historic bias towards Israel, its double standards on terrorism and nuclear proliferation.

In history there never was one power supreme over all others. There were rival pairs vying for supremacy: Greece and Persia, Islam and Christendom, Spain and Portugal; or groups of powers arrayed against each other in warring concerts and alliances. The tension and

rivalry between them provided the moving force of world politics. The end of the Cold War has created not a vacuum of power but a vacuum of aim and purpose. The military power is still there and so is the nuclear balance, albeit at a lower level and for the present, without the terror. What is not there suddenly is the sense of mission, the crusading spirit, that gave meaning to the international politics of the half century since the end of the second world war; that, while it split the world into two suicidally-armed and irreconcilable camps, also hastened the end of colonial empires, engendered non-alignment and spurred the unification of Europe.

As if to fill a lacuna some Western media and academic circles are trying to set up Islam as the new peril. Quite a bit of nonsense is being uttered, e.g., that there has been 1300 years of friction between Europe and Islam before which the conflict with communism was just a passing abrasiveness! Some of this arises from racist prejudice and is no doubt stirred up by the Israeli propaganda machine. But it cannot all be dismissed as prejudice and propaganda. Muslim xenophobia and fundamentalist doctrines are also contributing to the anti-Muslim psychosis in the West.

There is much in the Islamic world today that to Western eyes is bound to make it appear as alien as communism. The absence of democracy and of respect for human rights and the freedoms of speech, belief, association etc.—that now are accepted international norms. The advocacy of authoritarian rule and regimentation that is implied in the orthodox doctrine that Islam is a complete and unalterable code of life and permits no separation between state and religion. The West sees the Iranian regime as the model of the Islamic state and sees it as a complete antithesis of Western values.

The point, however, is that none of this is a threat to the West or its way of life. Fundamentalist movements have neither the means nor the desire to impose their ideas on the West. The conflict is within Islam. The adversary of Islamic fundamentalism is not the West but men like Syed Ahmad Khan, Iqbal and the Quaid who saw Islam as a dynamic force capable of meeting the challenges of today. The tensions that exist today between the West and Muslim countries are not ideological but political and specific in nature, e.g., over Palestine. The current campaign against Islam lacks substance and is a sort of counter-obscurantism that confuses the issues. [passage omitted]

Nuclear non-proliferation is America's top priority with the focus on the Subcontinent. The non-proliferation treaty is discriminatory as India complains but then, that is just what it is meant to be. It is no use talking as if the acquisition of nuclear weapons were a basic human right! In any case with the two main nuclear powers drastically reducing their nuclear arsenals, India's pretext for retaining its nuclear option is beginning to wear thin. But due to the "Israel factor" America's own stand on the question is befogged by equivocation, double-speak and

conflicting aims. If there is to be a viable non-proliferation regime, it must be based on realities, viz., that there are today more than the five recognised nuclear weapon powers and that this fact has changed the parameters of the security problem for the various countries concerned. A revised NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty], in the post-Cold War situation, would also gain credibility and effectiveness by adopting a comprehensive approach, incorporating a package of agreements on a total test ban, non-first use, non-transfer of weapons technology, stronger safeguards and its corollary, facilitating the development of nuclear energy in fuel-poor countries.

The trickiest area of the new order lies in the field of human rights and freedom—a minefield set between the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs and the universally accepted norms on the subject. The principle did not stop the U.N. from intervening against South Africa's policy of apartheid, because in this day and age certain things simply cannot be accepted. We may expect more of this approach in the future. The dilemma lies in the fact that when a strong state decides to intervene in the affairs of a weaker state, it usually does it on a humanitarian pretext and now the U.S. judiciary has gone further and given a judicial carte blanche to the administration to go into other countries, capture drug traffickers, terrorists and the like and bring them to trial in the United States—as was done with Noriega. This kind of thing could quite easily get out of hand and states, big and small, start running a sort of international *pathari* system. It would be preferable surely to institute some sort of a U.N. system, under the aegis perhaps of the international court of justice, for bringing the world's bad eggs to book.

At any rate there is need to reinterpret the principle of non-interference to set some defined limits on what a state is free to do to its own people and within its borders and some check and balance on what powerful states may do in the way of taking the law into their own hands.

The North-South gap, that to some extent is also a racial and geographical divide, seems to have become the world's forgotten problem. The philosophical triumph of the free market will not by itself resolve the poverty problem (in the same way that unbridled privatisation is not the whole answer to development at the national level). Prosperity does not trickle down internationally any more than it does at the national level; on the contrary it seems to have a tendency to rise upwards by a sort of capillary effect. The gap cannot possibly be closed unless a deliberate effort is made to do it. Adequate net transfer of resources to the poorer countries must be coupled with the diversion of their own resources from military and other unproductive expenses to economic and social development. In this regard the focus is likely to be on Pakistan and India in particular.

What would be Pakistan's place in the new order and how should we pursue our ends in the new dispensation?

With the end of the Cold War America's *raison d'être* for a special security relationship with Pakistan has ceased to exist, and even before that, the Soviet exit from Afghanistan had removed the basis for military aid to Pakistan on the scale on which we had been getting it. Now we are under increasing American pressure on a number of fronts—the nuclear programme, Kashmir, military expenditures, drugs. At the same time the United States seems to be warming towards India, reviving fears of an American-backed Indian overlordship over South Asia. It looks like tough going. But as one of our favourite American presidents said, "that's when the tough get going."

So where do we go from here? That reminds me of a Jamaican story. A man looking lost asks a passerby the way to the railway station. The man looks at him slightly askance and says, "well, if it's to the station you'd be wanting to go, you'd better not be starting from here in the first place!" But we have to start from where we are (never mind how we got there) and find our way. Perhaps the way ahead may not be as difficult as it seems, nor not much more so than it has been in the past. The problem of Pakistan's security is that of finding a way to protect it at an affordable economic cost and with available diplomatic support. It can be done.

We affirm, quite rightly, that we shall never accept India's hegemony. Nor do the smaller countries such as Sri Lanka and Bhutan. But countries aren't given a choice in the matter. India took Kashmir through a piece of chicanery and is holding on to it by brute force. She orchestrated the secession of East Pakistan. However, our own failings and doings played a key role in both cases. No amount of Indian hegemony, training camps, nuclear submarines and what not, will take Sindh out of Pakistan unless we let the situation within push matters that way.

There is about the relationship between India and Pakistan still something of the acrimony and intransigence of the pre-Independence contention between the Congress and the Muslim League. Nothing shows this more clearly than the way the two countries look at the Kashmir dispute. The fact is that we cannot do the Bangladesh on India in Kashmir but no more can India forever beat the Kashmiris into submission. It is the people of Kashmir themselves who will prevail and it should not be plain "to all, as it already is to many far-sighted Indians, that Kashmir cannot endure as an integral part of India any more than Algeria remained a French department and Angola a Portuguese province.

Our military arrangement with the United States was an offshoot of the Kashmir dispute. However, it did not quite redress the imbalance with India nor, as we had hoped, tilt the balance in favour of a Kashmir settlement. It really was not in the American calculations that it should and in all fairness, one can't say that they gave us much cause to believe otherwise. But on both sides there was a bit of make-believe in the relationship. And in all these years it had not developed very extensive

roots outside the fields of security and foreign aid: No sizeable American investment, no very significant trade, not much cultural or political interaction. However, for us the relationship remains important and we do need to find an acceptable equilibrium with the United States.

The survival and growth of democracy, Pakistan's position and role as one of the few democratic, modernising Islamic states; rapid economic growth and the possibilities it offers for enhanced trade and investment; an effective drug control programme—these could be some of the elements in the new relationship.

On the other hand is the intractable nuclear problem. The Americans now support the regional approach but this is nullified by the Pressler Amendment. We have to persuade them that the guarantee of non-proliferation and of stability in the Subcontinent lies precisely in both India and Pakistan possessing nuclear capability. Speaking straight would help.

Nobody knows what the shape of the world's new order will be except that there will be a more complex web of relations than in the past, specially in our part of the world. Pakistan's relationship with the United States had developed so many elements of dependency that in a sense we always operated in a unipolar world. Now that the force of circumstances is obliging us to take fresh look at Pakistan's place in the world, we need to re-examine the premise on which our policies have been based, reassess our security problem in the light of reality, review our goals and objectives. Kashmir, India's military preponderance, the nuclear issue, sectarianism, and internal dissensions rate, 20 percent of it living below the poverty line—there are trade offs to be made and they must be carefully calculated. Otherwise, this is the baggage we shall be taking into the 21st century.

Credit Agreement With Tajikistan Signed

92AS1557A Lahore THE NATION in English
11 Aug 92 p 1

[Article: "Pak-Tajik Credit Agreement Signed"]

[Text] Islamabad (PPI)—A credit agreement of \$500 million was signed here on Monday between the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Tajikistan for financing the completion of construction of Rogun Hydro Power Station in Tajikistan and to build high voltage electrical transmission line and substations through the territories of Tajikistan to the border with Afghanistan. The Federal Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs Sartaj Aziz and the Tajik Minister for Finance and Economy, Ismail Daulatoy, signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments.

A memorandum of intent with Tajikistan had earlier been signed by the Finance Minister during his visit to Tajikistan on March 27, 1992. According to the memorandum, both sides had agreed for cooperation in the field of electric power, the Government of Pakistan was

to help the financing of under consideration power projects, specially the Rogun Hydro Power Project in Tajikistan.

Under the agreement signed between the two governments here on Monday a credit of \$500 million would be provided over period of five years, 75 percent to 80 percent of which would be in the form of export of goods produced in Pakistan. The Government of Tajikistan would sell these goods in the local market to generate funds for the construction of project. The remaining amount will be provided by the WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] in convertible currency to Tajikistan.

Cooperation Pacts Signed With Uzbekistan

92AS1555A Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST* in English
14 Aug 92 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Pakistan, Uzbekistan Ink 3 Cooperation Agreements; Karimov Arrives To Warm Welcome"]

[Text] Islamabad - Uzbekistan and Pakistan signed three accords to promote bilateral cooperation as President Islam Karimov of the Central Asian republic started a state visit to Pakistan, [word illegible] Thursday, officials said.

They undertook to encourage and promote investment on a reciprocal basis while the two other agreements were aimed at fostering cooperation in the fields of postal and telegraph services, power generation and irrigation, they said.

Karimov held talks for about 90 minutes with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and an official statement said prospects of cooperation in communications, oil and gas and transit trade were discussed "intensively."

Both sides expressed a "keen desire" to establish a "lasting linkage" in these sectors and agreed to take concrete measures in the near future, the statement said. On Afghanistan, they expressed "deep concern" over the death and destruction caused by the continuing violence in Kabul.

A planned tripartite summit of Pakistan, Uzbekistan and Afghanistan here was upset due to the postponement of interim Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani's trip to Islamabad because of the Kabul fighting.

Karimov flew in earlier in the day to a ceremonial welcome at the airport, where President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif greeted him. In an arrival statement, he said his visit marked a "new chapter" in growing bilateral relations.

The Uzbekistan leader is to attend Pakistan's independence day celebrations here today.

PPI adds: President Ishaq while speaking at a banquet hosted by him in honour of Uzbekistan president Islam Karimov said here on Thursday night that Pakistan was

committed to intensifying political and economic cooperation with Uzbekistan on the basis of sovereign equality, non-interference and mutuality of benefits.

President Ishaq said the high level contacts established between the two countries in recent months had yielded positive results adding that the government of Pakistan remains positively disposed towards any proposal that may emanate from the government of Uzbekistan.

"This region is endowed with attributes of economic complementarities and vast material and human resources," the president said and added that through collective and determined efforts the area can be transformed into an economically viable, politically stable and socially dynamic community.

Welcoming Uzbekistan's admission to the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO), he observed that the organisation had the potential to serve as a dynamic forum for economic cooperation among the countries of the region. Given necessary political will and vision, the ECO can be enlarged at an appropriate stage by including other like-minded countries, he stated.

He maintained "on our part, we will be looking forward for such a development and will be glad to share with our brothers our experience of private enterprise and of running a free market economy."

Referring to the changes that recently took place in Central Asia, the president said "we have viewed with interest and satisfaction the positive transformation that has taken place in the region."

He was of the opinion that the emergence of the republics of Central Asia as sovereign and independent states has ushered in a new era of freedom and democracy. It is a momentous development of far reaching political implications and economic importance for the entire region comprising central and south west Asia, he noted.

Recalling the abiding ties of common history, culture and faith between the peoples of two countries and commercial intercourse and trade that flourished centuries ago between Central Asia and South Asia, the president said the peaceful character of the change has earned for Uzbekistan and other Central Asian republics the admiration of the whole world.

Referring to the developments which have taken place in Afghanistan, he termed the success of the heroic struggle of Afghans as a historic achievement and said with the restoration of Afghanistan's sovereignty, independence and Islamic and non-aligned character, there is now an urgent need to promote peace, harmony and stability in that war ravaged country and for the Afghan nation to consolidate the gains of their unparalleled sacrifices by fostering national unity and undertaking the important task of nation building.

He maintained that the international community has a moral obligation to extend full support to Afghanistan

for the preservation of its unity and territorial integrity as well as assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of its economy.

Switching over to Kashmir issue the president said that the people of Kashmir are still being denied of their inalienable right of self-determination.

He said the Kashmiris continue to offer great sacrifices for their fundamental rights notwithstanding brutal repression and massive violation of human rights.

The president declared that Pakistan would continue to extend moral political and diplomatic support to the Kashmiris and would expect all freedom-loving nations to join in promoting their just and noble cause.

Facets of Relations With Bosnia-Herzegovina Reported

Minister on Resolution

92AS1558A *Quetta BALOCHISTAN TIMES in English*
17 Aug 92 pp 1, 6

[Article: "Syed Faseih Iqbal's Resolution: Pakistan Demands Full Moral and Diplomatic Support for Bosnia"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 16. Pakistan will continue to extend its full moral and diplomatic support to Bosnia-Herzegovina at all international fora and strongly urge the United Nations, the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] and the NAM [Non-Aligned Movement] to take effective steps to immediately reverse the aggression against Bosnia, to halt forthwith the terror and brutality being suffered by the Muslims there and for quick humanitarian relief.

This was stated by the State Minister for Foreign Affairs Muhammad Siddique Khan Kanju while making a statement in the Senate today on a resolution moved by Syed Faseih Iqbal to condemn Serbian aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The resolution was, however, substituted by Mr. Kanju and was moved again in a fresh form.

The resolution could not be adopted as the members wanted to express their opinion on the issue besides going through it carefully.

Syed Abdullah Shah, who was presiding over the Session at the time, announced that discussion on the motion would be resumed on Monday.

Mr. Kanju said the Government and the people of Pakistan were extremely concerned over the continued aggression and brutality against the Bosnian Muslims.

We have not missed an opportunity to voice our concern and to express our solidarity with the people of Bosnia, he added.

Referring to a number of steps taken so far by the Government on the issue, he said we recalled our

Ambassador from Belgrade and asked the Belgrade representative to leave Pakistan, which he has done besides fully endorsing all United Nations Security Council resolutions relative to former Yugoslavia and have implemented their provisions in toto, including the sanctions and embargoes he said.

We participated in the OIC Foreign Ministers meeting in Istanbul which condemned Serbian aggression and fully supported International action in favour of Bosnian-Herzegovina.

At the OIC and the United Nations, he further said, Pakistan has repeatedly called for military action under article 42 of chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Since Belgrade continues to flout the will of the international community, we felt that such action has become necessary to compel Belgrade to cease forthwith its aggression against the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, he added.

Pakistan, he declared will be ready to provide personnel in support of United Nations peace keeping efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to provide humanitarian relief.

He said Pakistan has also advised U.S. permanent representative to the U.N. that a meeting of the OIC member States at the permanent representative level be convened urgently to coordinate efforts of the Islamic countries for full and effective implementation of its resolutions.

This meeting has been scheduled to be held in New York on August 17, 1992.

He recalled that the Government of Pakistan had also provided grant of 10 million U.S. Dollars to the Government of Bosnia, besides extending a credit worth 20 billion Dollars and Rupees 10 Million as humanitarian assistance.

He said a fund to be called Prime Minister's relief fund for Bosnia-Herzegovina, will also be launched soon.

He further recalled that the Foreign Minister of Bosnia Mr. Haris Silajpazic during his recent visit to Pakistan, had held detailed exchange of views with him, the President and the Prime Minister had explained magnitude of aggression and brutalities of the Servians in Bosnia.—PPI

Bosnian Minister's Visit

92AS1558B *Lahore THE NATION in English* 10 Aug 92
pp 1, 4

[Article by Mariana Baabar: "Pakistan To Give \$30m Aid to Bosnia"]

[Text] Islamabad—The Government of Pakistan has decided to provide a grant of 10 million U.S. dollars and a credit of U.S.\$20 million to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This was announced Sunday by State Minister Siddique Kanju while addressing a joint Press conference with the visiting Bosnian Foreign Minister, Mr. Harris Siladjic. Together with this Pakistan would also provide humanitarian assistance of one crore rupees to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina and launch a public fund-raising campaign "Prime Minister's Relief Fund for Bosnia-Herzegovina." In addition to that Pakistan will deploy personnel in support of United Nations peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Responding to this gesture, Mr. Siladjic replied, "I have never seen such immediate and efficient act in my life. The people of Pakistan care for their brethren and there is a genuine concern like that of the people of Europe and the United States."

Earlier, the visiting Foreign Minister held meetings with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and President Ghulam Ishaq before holding detailed exchange of views and discussions with Mr. Kanju, who described these talks as, "having been constructive and fruitful." Mr. Siladjic who has come to Islamabad from Tehran supported Iran's call for an emergency meeting of the Foreign and Defence Ministers of the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] but added that this meeting "should go one step ahead of the resolutions."

He denied reports that he had asked for military assistance from the Pakistan Government or the same had been offered to him by his hosts. To a query whether this was not really what he needed, Siladjic replied that Bosnia was in no position to engage itself in a military resistance against the well-armed Serb army. He said that the Serbs had endless supply of arms which were being daily provided to the Serbian soldiers and against them the Bosnians stood no chance. He said, "We cannot cope with that as our towns are sealed and surrounded and no quantity of arms could help us. The army has everything. An army which was paid by us."

To another question as to what more the OIC could do to help the Bosnians the Minister replied, "The OIC should act within the framework of the U.N. The U.N. issued a resolution that the Serbians should withdraw from Bosnian soil and this should be implemented. The U.N. Secretary-General has stated that the U.N. has not the economic and logistic means to implement this resolution so the OIC should provide the economic and logistic means." Together with this, the Bosnian Foreign Minister also supported the call of the Iranian government for a collective force to resist the aggressors. He said that the reason that the Bosnian cause was being ignored and not taken seriously by the U.N. Security Council as it took aggression on Kuwait, was because Bosnia had no oil and nor was it rich. He said, "The Bosnian cause will cost dearly to humanity. It will be a test case of the New World Order." Earlier, Mr. Siladjic termed the recent happenings in Bosnia as the worst case of human rights violation in the world and said that he had come to Pakistan to present the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina and tell of the atrocities and genocide against the Bosnians.

He said, "Brutality has gone beyond comprehension and we have lost over 50,000 innocent people, children among them." He revealed that just as in the World War II there were concentration camps for the Jews today there existed concentration camps for the Bosnians. The Foreign Minister said, "The U.N. and some other organisation know about these and we have been saying for a long time that this is the repetition of the World War II."

He blamed Europe for the aggression of the Serbs and accused them of looking the other way. He said, "however, it is only the public and human side of Europe that is keeping the establishment alive." He also accused the European leaders of not only avoiding intervention against the Serbs but also disallowing others to intervene. "This is gross violation of the sovereignty of a country by another." He himself asked a question, "Why is Europe appeasing the Serbs? Is it because they are incompetent, impotent or indifferent?"

Pakistan which was among the first few countries who recognised the independence of Bosnia would, according to Kanju, continue to extend its full diplomatic support to all initiatives in the U.N. Security Council, the OIC, NAM, etc., to ensure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina and to stop barbarities against its people.

He also asserted that Pakistan will not reconsider the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina and complies with all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.

Regional Affairs

India Said Unwilling To Face Kashmir Crisis

92AS1547A Lahore *THE NATION* in English 22 Aug 92
p 7

[Article by Ghani Eirabie: "Kashmir: A Time-Bomb India Refuses To Defuse"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] That India is losing ground to the escalating freedom movement in Kashmir is shown by four developments: one, the angry outburst by the normally placid Indian Prime Minister on the eve of Indo-Pakistani reconciliation talks, that J&K [Jammu and Kashmir] is an integral part of India and no power on earth can take it away; two, Indian protege Farooq Abdullah's admission that Kashmir is still a dispute that cannot be resolved without the Kashmiris' participation; three, foreign media reports that pro-Pakistan elements are gaining strength and JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Force] activists are seeking accommodation with them; and four, the state Governor's confirmation that Indian security forces are resorting to "excesses" to control the insurgency.

Apparently what has driven Mr. Narasimha Rao to desperation is the defiance hurled at the Indian Army of

occupation by the Kashmiris celebrating Pakistan's Independence Day on August 14 and observing India's Independence on August 15 as a Day of Mourning—not hesitating to sacrifice 40 lives in the process. Whether throwing away so many precious lives just to signal defiance is a wise strategy or not is a different matter, but what is undeniable is the epic valour and dauntless courage of the Kashmir Mujaheddin, which has been delineated in thrilling detail by foreign correspondents covering the state.

BBC's Newshour (2000 hrs) on August 14 said: "On Pakistan's Independence Day, there have been demonstrations by Muslims in many towns in 'Indian-administered Kashmir'. The security forces have orders to shoot, at sight, demonstrators demanding union with Pakistan and one person was killed in capital Srinagar. Ten people were killed by the Army when the soldiers attacked what they claimed was a separatist hideout in a village (near Anantnag). The BBC correspondent giving an eye-witness account said: "In a small square in the heart of old Srinagar, a young Kashmiri separatist fired a burst from his Kalashnikov and hundreds of men and women chanted slogans for Pakistan and for freedom. In two other places, I saw much smaller pro-Pakistan demonstrations. Other demonstrations took place in the narrow valleys where the security forces were reluctant to enter for fear of being trapped. The banners of the separatist organisations were prominently displayed on many of the main roads; and the Pakistani flag was hoisted in the Central Square of Srinagar, though soon removed by the security forces. They opened fire on demonstrators in three places in Srinagar and one person was killed. There have been similar demonstrations in most of the other towns of the Kashmir Valley. In a town, ten miles from Srinagar, separatist organisations held a military parade."

VOA [Voice of America] Correspondent Peter Heinkein providing more details in a dispatch from Srinagar, said (18.40 hrs, August 14): "The Indian paramilitary forces spent most of their time this Friday morning removing thousands of Pakistani flags, banners and posters put up overnight through the length and breadth of Srinagar, extending greetings to Pakistan on its Independence Day. He called it 'a sea of green colour flooding the city overnight,' and added Indian troops were seen in a posh locality of Srinagar, asking the people at gunpoint to remove the Pakistani flags, banners and posters. Pasting and removing flags, etc., has, in fact, become a routine."

VOA also reported the arrival earlier in the week of additional security forces to prevent demonstrations by Kashmiris either in favour of Pakistan or against India. Giving details BBC, August 13, said: The Indian Army took control of Central Chowk in Srinagar and launched house-to-house searches, and lined up Kashmiri youth on footpaths outside for further interrogation; but despite all the precautions the Kashmiris took out processions in narrow lanes, chanting slogans "Kashmir

belongs to Pakistan." As against this black flags and a complete general strike greeted the dawn of India's Independence Day.

BBC, August 15, reported: The Indian Independence Day parade was attended almost exclusively by officials, police and Army officers. Security was very strict; men near the Stadium were forced to leave their homes and the Army surrounded the Stadium itself, with eight commandos standing around the state Governor as he made his speech. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the separatists fired two rockets while the parade was taking place and two children in the neighbourhood were injured. There were small anti-Indian demonstrations, and at least at one place, the Indian flag was burnt. All shops were closed and there was no traffic on the roads. VOA, August 15, added: Daily life in the strife-torn Valley came to a standstill due to the general strike. Hardly anyone, except Indian troops and a few tourists, was seen in the main bazars of Srinagar on Saturday. Most of the 80,000 residents of the capital stayed indoors.

The strong-arms tactics employed by the Indian security forces to keep the lid from blowing up on the two occasions, have been noted and reported by the foreign correspondents. In a BBC actuality programme on August 15, Mark Tully, commenting on the voices of women weeping and screaming said: These women are crying because one of their sons has just been taken away by the Indian forces in a house-to-house search, one of the search operations taking place in Srinagar every day. It is these continuing searches, he added, that have alienated the Kashmiris and there is no chance of a reconciliation between the people and the Government of India. When the BBC correspondent confronted the state Governor Saxena with the statement that he had personally witnessed Indian security forces committing "excesses", the Governor offered the excuse: such wrongs by lower staff are committed when senior officers are not present on the spot. While conceding that house searches did contain an element of harassment, the Governor maintained there was no easier way of containing the situation—particularly in the wake of mounting militants' raids against security forces.

Reports from inside Kashmir are agreed that far from diminishing, the tempo of the freedom movement in the Valley has picked up momentum: the Kashmiri "militants" have taken to striking against Indian military posts and bunkers in reprisal for the torturing of their young men and atrocities committed against their women and children. The Indian authorities have been quoted by foreign radio networks as admitting that casualties among the security forces have increased sharply over the last six weeks. VOA, August 6 called it a "warlike situation."

Also contrary to the Indian claim of widening rift among freedom-fighters and decreasing support for accession to Pakistan, the Netherlands Radio, August 14, broadcast an interview with its New Delhi correspondent Ajo

Dole who in response to a question which group has the greater following, said: "Previously, JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation force] was by far the largest group, but in recent years, what has happened is that the pro-Pakistan groups have increased in number." Again, Kashmiri newspapers have published a statement by acting President of JKLF Sheikh Abdul Hamid saying that without diplomatic and political support of Pakistan, the Kashmir issue would remain unresolved, which statement is viewed as a move to dispel the impression that JKLF is against Pakistan. He insists Pakistan has a role to play. He also ruled out the possibility of state elections as desired by India, saying no Kashmiri will come to cast a vote. Sheikh Hamid is one of the half a dozen Kashmiri leaders released recently from Indian jails in the hope they will hold talks with the Indian government on a proposal for special status for Kashmir within the Indian Union. However, on becoming fully cognisant of the Kashmiri people's frame of mind, almost all of them have spurned Indian overtures. BBC, August 16, quoted Abdul Ghani Lone of the People's Conference as telling Mark Tully in an interview, the Kashmiris have no interest in any elections in the state under the Indian Constitution; nobody would turn up to vote. What the Kashmiris want is implementation of the commitments made to them by the United Nations and accepted by both India and Pakistan. Similar views were expressed by another Kashmiri leader, Professor Abdul Ghani of the Muslim Conference, also recently released from Indian prison. Angrily repudiating the dubbing of Kashmiris as "militants" or "terrorists," "communalists" or "fundamentalists," he said, they are none of these; they are just freedom-seekers and their quest for freedom began in 1947. He dared Britain and America to send a delegation of Amnesty International or of any other international organisation to see for themselves "whether Kashmiris are terrorists or the Indian government is terrorist, whether the Kashmiris are communalists or the Indians are."

But perhaps the most significant is BBC's August 15 interview with Sheikh Farooq Abdullah, ex-Chief Minister of Kashmir under Indira and Rajiv Gandhi. For a start, he said, it would not be possible to hold any election in the state and if they were held, they would be what he called "false" elections. Next he talked of the oppression to which the Kashmiris were being subjected; hundreds of innocent people were rotting in jails, he said, and economically, the state was ruined. But more surprising, he insisted that "India should discuss Kashmir with Pakistan because India accepts that Kashmir is a dispute; and on this basis, it has already talked to Pakistan at the United Nations—and other forums since 1947." And even more surprising was his statement that "The Kashmiris will have to decide their fate themselves. I think if India and Pakistan really want a solution, they should talk to the Kashmiris also." The final shocker, however, was his reaction to the Indian offer of internal autonomy. Farooq Abdullah said: "We have already seen that whatever freedom we had had been usurped. Now they say we shall be given further

autonomy. I remember the pledge they made to Sheikh Abdullah about augmenting internal autonomy. But years have passed and they are still consoling us. I still do not believe they will do anything that is acceptable to the people of Kashmir. And it should be acceptable to Pakistan." In summation, he emphasised: "Whatever agreement there be should be acceptable to Kashmiris, Pakistan and India."

Although no importance attaches to the apparent transformation in Farooq Abdullah's attitude because his views, like his father's, change with loss of office and he, like other leaders of yesteryears, has ceased to be relevant, yet it is significant as barometer of today's political weather. The temperature in the Valley continues to rise and the Kashmiris have ceased to be a docile people who now are willing to pay with their lives for assertion of their right of self-determination. They refuse to be treated as a piece of real estate in dispute between two rival claimants; and India's insistence on claiming Kashmir as an integral part of its disputed domain is as presumption as Pakistan's description of it as "unfinished agenda of Partition"; and America's adherence to a colonial stance on Kashmir amounts to turning a blind eye to a potential powder-keg.

To Pakistan goes the credit for alerting the West in 1978 to the explosiveness of the Afghan situation well before it exploded (blowing up U.S.S.R. itself skyhigh ten years later); likewise we should continue to warn the world of the ticking time-bomb in the heart of Asia. India could disintegrate under the stress of forces unleashed by the liberation struggle in Kashmir which is not only overstraining India's slender financial resources but is also demoralising its armed forces, brutalising its people and undermining its moral credibility. More disturbing, it could trigger an Indo-Pakistan war as early as this winter, with the potential of destroying both countries.

Consequently, it is in the interest of the region as a whole that the escalating tension be defused as early as possible, but the Indian Foreign Secretary's refusal to assign Kashmir top priority at Indo-Pakistan talks in Delhi this week does not bode too well for peace in the region. We owe it to the region to make a more skilful effort to bring home to the world the nature and gravity of the situation in Kashmir and prod it into intervening more determinedly to help find a solution to the problem acceptable to the Kashmiris. We need mount a major campaign to convince the world that the Kashmiris, in their new frame of mind, will fight to the last child rather than accept another Amritsar Treaty re-selling them into another hundred years of slavery.

Papers Report Khaleda Zia's Visit

Sharif's 9 Aug Banquet Speech

92AS1556A Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
10 Aug 92 pp 1, 7

[Article: "Speedy Expansion of Ties With BD (Bangladesh) Desired; Third World Must Face New Challenges"]

[Text]

PM (Prime Minister) Stresses Stability in Region

Islamabad, Aug. 9: Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif has urged the Third World countries to get fully prepared to face the changes emerging in consequence of the initiation of the era of detente and reconciliation.

Addressing at the banquet, hosted in honour of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Begum Khalida Zia here on Sunday the Prime Minister observed that challenge demands the Third World countries to enhance the pace of development, provide justice to all sections of their societies and take effective steps to protect their genuine interests at global level.

The Prime Minister underlined the need for peace and stability in the region and said that Pakistan is making consistent and sincere efforts for the realisation of these objectives so that the countries of the region can utilise their limited resources for the socio-economic uplift of their peoples.

He said that Pakistan wanted speedy expansion and stability in the relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh in the diverse fields of trade, industry, agriculture, communications, education and culture.

He said that Pakistan and Bangladesh were related together in the common bonds of history, culture, traditions and cherished goals. Both the countries were passing through the stage of having an earnest desire for the national reconstruction, both the countries were keen to root out poverty, ignorance and disease from their soils, he added.

He stated that Pakistan was keen to establish tension-free relations with India on the basis of the recognised principles of sovereignty, equality and respect for each other's independence.

He further said: "It is our desire that the mutual differences and issues should be resolved on bilateral basis in accordance with the international agreements."

Mr. Nawaz Sharif stressed resolution of the long-outstanding Kashmir question in accordance with the aspirations of the people of Kashmir because not only the United Nations, through its respective resolutions has recognised it, but India and Pakistan and the comity of nations have also recognised and endorsed it.

He went on to say that the people of Kashmir are fighting for the realisation of their right of self-determination at the cost of their life, honour and property with an undefeatable spirit.

The Prime Minister recalled his visit to Bangladesh following the cyclone devastation where he had gone to meet his brothers and sisters and she had given a rousing reception to him despite her heavy schedule of engagements. He was very much impressed by the hospitality, accorded to him during the visit and also by the spirit

and determination and a unique sense of sympathy for her people. The way she had devoted herself to the people of her country impressed him very much.

He said that Pakistan and Bangladesh were both the members of Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) and were playing their effective role. He said that this common bond had knit our two countries together and this was a rare and abiding relationship, therefore, our future plans were the same.

He said that as she was present here he recollected the memories of her great and illustrious husband President Zia-ur-Rehman Shaheed under whose able leadership the expansion and depth in relationship between the two countries took place. He said the late leader had rendered unforgettable services for the regional cooperation.

The creation of SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] was the proof of the sagacity of that great leader, he added.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said that today the sapling planted by late President Zia-ur-Rehman had turned into a blossoming shady tree.

He said it was our objective that the condition of the member countries was changed, the shackles of poverty are cut off, the darkness of ignorance was dispelled and the society was put to the road of prosperity.

He said that we are looking forward to the SAARC Conference to be held in Dhaka this year. This conference would Insha Allah prove to be the starting point for a new era.

The Prime Minister said he was sure that under her able leadership this organisation would not only be strengthened but open up the new avenues for mutual cooperation.

He said that in the near past important changes had taken place.

The Prime Minister said that this aspect was of great satisfaction for us that the jihad, waged by our Afghan brethren had been crowned with success. Now the Afghan leaders were engaged in creating peaceful conditions in their country. They were carrying out the reconstruction of their country with a renewed spirit. He said Pakistan was extending all possible help to Afghanistan within its limited resources.

He said the way our Bangladeshi brethren had faced their problems with courage and conviction and the way they had made endeavour to resolve these problems, was a laudable struggle.

The Prime Minister said Bangladesh had achieved progress and development under her able, determined, and sincere leadership, had been the cause of joy and happiness for us. "It is our earnest desire and prayer (dua) that Bangladesh continues to advance on the way

to progress and development. He said that Bangladesh had played an effective, positive and constructive role in South Asia. He said she could be rightly proud of the fact that she had worked for strengthening of SAARC, had raised the voice for the weaker and oppressed nations of the world and played a dynamic role for the protection of the interests of the Third World countries.

"It is our determination, he continued, that we would work side by side with you, continue this process and strengthen it further," he added.

The Prime Minister said: "We feel very happy in receiving you. This is your home. I hope your stay in Pakistan will be certainly pleasant and fruitful. I pray for the prosperity and happiness of the people of Bangladesh. I am confident that the future of your country is bright under your leadership."—APP.

Zia's 9 Aug Banquet Speech

92AS1556B Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
10 Aug 92 pp 1, 12

[Article: "Issues To Be Resolved Through Dialogue: Khaleda; "Pakistan, Bangladesh Should Pool Resources for Economic Uplift"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug. 9: Prime Minister of Bangladesh Begum Khaleda Zia today said that Pakistan and Bangladesh should pool their resources for economic lift of their people.

Speaking at the banquet hosted in her honour by the Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif here, she said there was need to face the challenge of poverty with collective efforts.

Begum Khaleda Zia appreciated the economic reforms and bold economic initiative taken by the present Government of Pakistan and hoped those would bring positive results for economic progress.

She said her country was also pursuing liberal economic policy to improve the lot of their people.

Begum Khaleda Zia said two countries could cooperate with each other at regional and international levels, as they have identical views on various issues.

She highlighted the important role of SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] for achieving the objective of peace and political and economic stability in the region. She said her country was looking forward for active participation of Pakistan in the forthcoming SAARC Summit, scheduled to be held at Dhaka.

Begum Khaleda Zia said that her Government desired to resolve outstanding issues with Pakistan through friendly dialogue.

She said she has brought with her a message of goodwill and friendship for the people of Pakistan. She said "we desire to establish good relations with Pakistan in all fields."

She hoped that her talks with her Pakistani counterpart would prove fruitful in achieving the desired objectives.

She recalled the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's visit to Bangladesh when her country was hit by cyclone and said it was reflection of the strong desire to help each other in the hour of need.

She said her visit is aimed at establishing meaningful ties between the two countries.

She said both the countries should face the new political and economic challenges with determination, otherwise, she added, "we will miss the stream of development process."

She said that forthcoming SAARC Summit would open a new era of cooperation among the regional countries. She emphasised this forum should be fully utilised for eradication of poverty and hunger.

She expressed her sincere thanks to the Government and the people of Pakistan for extending her a warm reception. She said "we are not strange to each other and have, long history of living together."

She called for taking steps to promote understanding for strengthening bilateral relations.

She said new changes were taking place in the world after the end of the cold war. She said the process of dialogue was in progress to resolve issues. "We must adhere to it" she added.

She said South Asia should work for peace and stability to achieve the objective of self-reliance.—APP.

11 Aug Talks

92AS1556C Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
11 Aug 92 pp 1, 12

[Article: "Khaleda Lauds Nawaz's Services for Ummah; Pak-BD (Bangladesh) Trade Volume To Be Enhanced"]

[Text]

Joint Ministerial Body Formed

Islamabad, Aug. 10: Visiting Prime Minister of Bangladesh Begum Khaleda Zia and Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif held wide-ranging talks here this morning, especially focussing on expansion of bilateral trade.

They agreed to the formation of a joint ministerial committee to go into the details of trade opportunities existing between Bangladesh and Pakistan. Delegations to the committee would be headed by their respective

Commerce Ministers. Besides other matters, the committee will frame specific proposals for increasing volume of the two-way trade.

Held in an atmosphere of warmth and cordiality, the talks covered bilateral relations and regional and international issues. On the regional side, the two Prime Ministers briefed each other on Afghanistan, Kashmir and the plight of Burmese refugees. While reviewing the international situation, the two leaders exchanged views on the developments in Bosnia and sufferings of Palestinian people.

During the talks, the two sides also apprised each other with the latest measures regarding repatriation of stranded Biharis in Bangladesh, numbering about a quarter million.

Begum Khaleda Zia in her opening remarks, complimented Premier Nawaz Sharif for his personal role and contribution in promoting Pakistan-Bangladesh cooperation. She particularly mentioned Pakistan Prime Minister's visit last year to her country and recalled that the visit came about at a time when Bangladesh was suffering from the devastations of a cyclone.

She also recounted Premier Sharif's services for the cause of Islamic Ummah, particularly in helping Afghanistan regain its independence.

The Bangladesh Prime Minister described as revolutionary and far-reaching the reforms, introduced in Pakistan's economy by Premier Sharif. She characterised these reforms as pragmatic and perfectly in tune with contemporary requirements. Bangladesh, she said, had also embarked on the similar course of economic reforms and liberalisation.

Begum Zia was assisted at the talks, among others by Foreign Minister A.S.M. Mostafizur Rahman while Premier Sharif had on his side, besides others, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mohammad Siddique Khan Kanju.

Premier Sharif hosted a luncheon in honour of Begum Zia at a resort hotel in Bhurban, near Murree.

Scientific, Technological Cooperation

92AS1556D Lahore *THE NATION* in English 11 Aug 92
pp 1, 4

[Article: "Pakistan, BD (Bangladesh) To Cooperate in Science and Technology"]

[Text] Islamabad (APP)—Pakistan and Bangladesh will promote cooperation in all fields of science and technology particularly in scientific and technical information, science and technology policies and plans, electronics technology, food processing technology, silicon technology and industrial research.

An agreement to this effect was signed here on Monday by the two countries. Federal Minister for Science and Technology, Illahi Bakhsh Soomro and Bangladesh Minister for

Foreign Affairs, A.S.M. Mostafizur Rahman signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments.

The agreement envisages exchange of books, journals and other science and technology publications, exchange of visits of scientists and technologists, grant of fellowships for short-term practical training in science and technology, undertaking of joint research projects in the fields of common interest, and, joint organisation of seminars, conferences and workshops on topics of mutual interest.

In order to facilitate the implementation of this agreement, the representatives of two countries would meet every two years alternately in Islamabad and Dhaka and consult each other about measures that are necessary.

The two countries also signed another agreement under which the Government of Pakistan would give 12 plots of land to Bangladesh government, covering a total area of 25,000 square yards in the diplomatic enclave of Islamabad. These plots will be used for the construction of buildings of the High Commission for Bangladesh.

According to the agreement Government of Bangladesh would also give Government of Pakistan a plot of land with a total area of 16,000 square yards located at Baridhara Diplomatic Enclave, Dhaka, which would be used for the construction of building of the High Commission for Pakistan.

The agreement was signed by Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Muhammad Siddiq Khan Kanju and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, A.S.M. Mostafizur Rahman on behalf of their respective governments.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif hosted a luncheon in honour of the visiting Prime Minister of Bangladesh Begum Khaleda Zia in Bhurban on Monday.

The Bangladesh Prime Minister also went around for sightseeing in Murree and Bhurban.

The luncheon was attended by the members of entourage of the Bangladesh Prime Minister and by the Federal Ministers, Ministers of State and high-ranking civil and military officials.

Sharif Press Conference

92AS1556E Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
12 Aug 92 pp 1, 12

[Article: "Bilateral Trade Bodies Soon; BD (Bangladesh) Supports Pak Stand on Kashmir: Nawaz"]

[Text] Lahore, Aug. 11: Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif has said Pakistan and Bangladesh have agreed to make greater efforts to promote bilateral trade and business.

Talking to newsmen at the Lahore Airport after bidding farewell to Begum Khalid Zia, Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Mr. Nawaz Sharif said it has been decided that the merchandise imported by these countries would henceforth be imported from each other country through bilateral trade. In this connection Pakistan and Bangladesh would set up trade committees which would find new avenues of trade between the two countries.

The Prime Minister said the visit of Bangladesh Prime Minister to Pakistan was very useful and it would bring positive results towards welfare of the people of both the countries. He said the visit would prove an important milestone towards further cementing the brotherly ties between the people of Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Replying to a question, the Prime Minister said Pakistan would soon make initiative towards the settlement of Biharis in Pakistan. Already, he said Punjab Chief Minister had initiated efforts to accommodate Biharis at Mian Channu and as soon as the funds for the repatriation of Biharis would be available, the settlement work would be taken up.

Answering a question, the Prime Minister said Bangladesh endorsed the Pakistani viewpoint of Kashmir and it wishes the Kashmir dispute be resolved as soon as possible.

Regarding the Bangladesh claim of assets, the Prime Minister said as the friendly ties between Pakistan and Bangladesh were progressing, it has been agreed unanimously to keep the issue of assets pending. He said this issue would be amicably resolved by mutual understanding.

Answering a question, the Prime Minister said though no positive date of his visit to Bangladesh on an invitation has been fixed yet he would visit Bangladesh during the next SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] conference in December this year.

Regarding the postponement of PML [Pakistan Muslim League] August 14 convention, the Prime Minister, who is also President, PML, Punjab, said the Muslim League have taken wise decision to postpone its August 14 convention. He said the other political parties holding their rallies on August 14 should follow the example of PML and provide an opportunity to people to celebrate the Day on their own. He said PML previously too had set this shining example. He said the people at large have welcomed the PML decision.

Communique Text

92AS1556F Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
12 Aug 92 pp 1, 7

[Article: "Third World Development, Environment; Pak-BD (Bangladesh) Call for More Resources"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug. 11: Pakistan and Bangladesh call for allocation of adequate resources for the development of Third World countries as well as protection of world environment.

The two countries also reaffirmed their commitment to strengthen the Organisation of Islamic Conference [OIC] as a forum for promoting the cause of Muslim World.

In a joint statement, issued here on the conclusion of Bangladesh Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia's 3-day visit to Pakistan, both the Prime Ministers reiterated their firm belief that as a forum for enhancing regional cooperation in South Asia, SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] represented the hope and aspirations of the peoples of the region.

Following is the text of the joint statement:

At the invitation of His Excellency Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Her Excellency Begum Khaleda Zia, Prime Minister of Bangladesh, paid an official visit to Pakistan August 9-11, 1992. She was accompanied by His Excellency ASM Mostafizur Rahman, Minister for Foreign Affairs, several Members of Parliament and high officials.

During her visit, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh called on His Excellency Ghulam Ishaq Khan, President of Pakistan. She held comprehensive and wide-ranging discussions covering bilateral, regional and international issues with His Excellency Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister of Pakistan. The talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and utmost cordiality.

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh conveyed to the President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan the goodwill and friendship of the government and the people of Bangladesh for the government and the people of Pakistan.

The two Prime Ministers briefed each other on the recent developments in their respective countries. The Prime Minister of Bangladesh stated the people of Bangladesh were at the moment striving hard to consolidate democracy that was earned through a long struggle against autocracy. The Prime Minister of Pakistan apprised the Bangladesh leader of the steps taken by his government to consolidate democracy, national unity and cohesion, stamp out violence, eliminate the causes of social strife and improve the standard of living of the people of Pakistan.

Reviewing the recent momentous and unprecedented changes in the international situation, the two Prime Ministers expressed satisfaction at the positive developments, namely the end of the cold war, the defusion of ideological differences and a renewed emphasis on resolution of conflicts through peaceful means.

They expressed the hope these would lead to the establishment of a new world order based on equity, justice and cooperation as well as respect for principles of international law. The two leaders emphasised that adequate resources should be provided for addressing the development needs of the Third World countries and for the protection of world environment.

They agreed that recent developments have lent renewed relevance to the Non-Aligned Movement [NAM] and its

abiding principles of independent judgement, freedom of action and emphasis on equitable international economic development.

The two leaders expressed their commitment to making concerted efforts to strengthen the Organisation of Islamic Conference as forum for promoting the cause of the Islamic Ummah. They agreed the Organisation should continue to strive for consolidating Islamic solidarity and promoting the well-being of Islamic countries and communities in different parts of the world.

It had been making positive contribution towards their well-being and greater mutual understanding. They also agreed that in order to maximise the benefits to the people it was necessary to give further momentum to SAARC activities in the core areas of economic cooperation.

The two leaders appreciated that the 7th SAARC summit scheduled to be held in Dhaka in December this year assumed special significance as it marked the beginning of the second cycle of SAARC summits. They expressed the hope that while consolidating the achievements of the past, the summit would also indicate new directions for achieving the objectives of SAARC.

The two Prime Ministers expressed happiness at the victory of the fraternal Afghan people in their struggle for self-determination. Both leaders expressed the hope the situation in Kabul and throughout Afghanistan would soon stabilise completely and the valiant people of Afghanistan would be able to accelerate the task of rehabilitation and national reconstruction. Both leaders pledged full support to the people of Afghanistan in their rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts.

The two leaders welcomed the various positive steps towards a satisfactory resolution of the Palestinian problem and hoped these efforts will ensure the right of self-determination of the people of Palestine. They expressed support for the ongoing process for peace in the Middle East.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan briefed the Prime Minister of Bangladesh on the latest developments in Jammu and Kashmir. The Prime Minister of Pakistan reiterated Pakistan's wholehearted support for the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir, in accordance with the relevant U.N. resolutions.

He called for an immediate cessation of the human rights violations against the Kashmiri people. He emphasised the need for a just solution of the Kashmir problem as an essential prerequisite for the establishment of peace and security in South Asia.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan reiterated his government's resolve to establish tension-free relations with India, on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual respect and peaceful, negotiated resolution of all outstanding issues, especially the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh underscored deep concern over the continued violence in Kashmir and the escalating tension, between Pakistan and India on this issue. In the interest of peace and stability in the region as a whole, Bangladesh has constantly urged the exercise of maximum restraint by both countries in the SAARC spirit. At the same time, Prime Minister of Bangladesh expressed the hope the process of constructive dialogue initiated between the two countries should continue for a peaceful resolution of the underlying problem on the basis of justice, mutual benefit and respect for the principles of international law.

The two leaders expressed satisfaction at the excellent relations existing between the two fraternal countries. They reiterated their determination to further strengthen and consolidate these relations. They agreed the presence of democratically elected governments in both countries provided a significant opportunity for this purpose.

The Prime Ministers of Pakistan and Bangladesh exchanged views on the repatriation of stranded Pakistanis presently living in various camps in Bangladesh. The Prime Minister of Pakistan apprised the Prime Minister of Bangladesh of the progress achieved by the high level committee set up by him and headed by the Finance Minister of Pakistan for the repatriation of the stranded Pakistanis and their rehabilitation in specially constructed housing settlements in various areas in the Punjab province.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan informed the Bangladesh leader that construction of these housing settlements had commenced and the campaign to raise funds had been stepped up. He declared the repatriation of the first batch of some 3,000 families of stranded Pakistanis would commence by December 1992, on completion of the first phase of construction of housing facilities, for which funds were available. Thereafter, repatriation would take place in phases, as funds become available and further housing facilities were completed.

The Prime Ministers of Pakistan and Bangladesh examined all aspects of division of assets and liabilities, and agreed to take steps, through mutual consultations for an expeditious resolution of the problem, in the spirit of the existing excellent relations between the two countries.

The two Prime Ministers appreciated there was scope for further expansion and diversification in cooperation between the two countries in the field of trade and economy. They decided to set up special teams headed by the Commerce Ministers and comprising senior officials and representatives of the private sector to meet regularly to evolve measures for increasing and diversifying trade and exploring the possibilities for joint ventures.

Two Prime Ministers agreed to take immediate steps to increase trade between the two countries. They agreed in principle to facilitate the import of larger quantity of tea and jute products from Bangladesh and fruits from Pakistan.

The two sides also agreed that henceforth the joint economic commission of the two countries should meet at least once in two years to review cooperation in the fields of trade and economy and to draw up new programmes of cooperation.

The two leaders expressed their resolve to intensify and expand cooperation in the fields of culture, education, and information and directed the officials concerned in both countries, to formulate programmes for increasing cooperation in these fields. The two Prime Ministers agreed to intensify cooperation in the sports sector. The Prime Minister of Pakistan agreed to provide all facilities for the promotion of sports, especially cricket, hockey and squash, to Bangladesh.

During the visit, the following two agreements were signed between Pakistan and Bangladesh;

(I) Agreement on cooperation in science and technology.

(II) Agreement on the mutual exchange of plots of land in the diplomatic enclave in each other's capital for construction of respective diplomatic mission complexes.

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh expressed her sincere thanks to the Prime Minister and the government and the people of Pakistan for the warm welcome and hospitality extended to her and members of her entourage during their stay in Pakistan.

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh extended an invitation to the Prime Minister of Pakistan to visit Bangladesh. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.—PPI.

Internal Affairs

President Seen As Opportunistic, Inconsistent

92AS1547E Lahore *THE NATION* in English 25 Aug 92
p 8

[Editorial: "President's Change of Heart?"]

[Text] The President's remarks about the current political confrontation are likely to be read with interest, not just because these seem to convey a somewhat conciliatory note, but also for their denoting a rather belated change of heart. The President is reported to have said that he has no dispute with Ms. Bhutto and that he is not a hurdle in a possible dialogue between the Opposition and the government. That this was not so till recently, can easily be seen from his statements made about Ms. Bhutto from the time he sacked her government till the time when he cynically dismissed the evidence produced by the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] about the military and other government agencies conspiracy to overthrow the PPP rule, as a punch that the PPP ought to deliver on its own face. While making this remark the President had said that he was aware that the PPP had this evidence all along but chose not to send it to the courts earlier. The point to be noted is that he did not question the validity of the evidence, and only said that it was

time-barred. Without going into whether this was a matter of relief or satisfaction for the President, it would be hard to avoid the conclusion that the President at the very least acquiesced, if not promoted the moves against the PPP government. This impression is further strengthened by the fact that when the Sindh government began indulging in the same malpractices such as horse-trading, for which the President had dismissed the PPP government, he chose not only to ignore that, but also kept issuing certificate of excellent conduct to Jam Sadiq Ali, its chief perpetrator. His applause for the late Jam and his condemnation of the PPP for the same sin, acquires special meaning when it is seen against the backdrop of the Supreme Court verdict which has held horse-trading as one of the two grounds justifying his sacking of the PPP government. The other grounds cited by the President have been given little credence by the Supreme Court. Now if the President was not personally anathematical to Ms. Bhutto, how come he found her conduct deserving of all kinds of punishment, including a highly expensive and openly vindictive operation to have her disqualified from politics, and found the same thing by his proteges as deserving of praise?

One way of looking at this obvious paradox of course would be that the President, now secure in the knowledge that Ms. Bhutto and the PM [Prime Minister], having already gone too far in their confrontation, can never come together, finds no harm in taking a non-partisan posture. So that while he can pretend to be above the fray, the two antagonists can destroy each other, leaving him unscathed. The danger to the country in this development with a no-holds-barred fight between the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, would be that it will take the present democratic order down with it. Their mutual dislike may have blinded them to this eventuality, but the President, if he claims to be above the fray, should be able to see it clearly enough. If there is any change of heart on his part, which is highly unlikely, he can even now put out this fire and make the system work.

Prime Minister Said Unsure of Direction, Leadership

92AS1547B Lahore *THE NATION* in English 24 Aug 92
p 9

[Article by Inayatullah: "An Unsure IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad) Government"; italicized words as published]

[Text] The sudden cancellation of the August 14 rally announced by Ghulam Haider Wyne with much fanfare has been variously interpreted in different quarters. The general impression, however, is one of ineptitude on the part of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] leaders. The matter assumes added significance when it is recalled that the Punjab Chief Minister had been challenged to hold the meeting without the aid of the district administration and local councils. Mr. Wyne had picked up the gauntlet and publicly resolved to demonstrate that the Muslim League could organise the Minar-i-Pakistan

jalsa entirely on its own thus proving its strength as a popular political party. His abrupt backing-out of the solemn commitment came as a big surprise. His loud claims disappeared into thin air. His explanation that the decision not to hold the proposed rally was taken in the larger interest of avoiding conflict and of preservation of peace on the day of independence, was generally considered lame and unconvincing. The ruling party thus suffered a loss of face and in the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] meeting at Nasir Bagh, Benazir ridiculed the IJI for running away from the field like "jackals".

This exhibition of the IJI weakness at Lahore was followed by reverses on the floor of the National Assembly. An incautious Maulana Niazi taking umbrage at Benazir's remarks about *Sharia* and the Shariat Court, burst out against her (as per the newspaper report) calling her *Kafir* and *Wajibul qatl*. An uncowed and furious Benazir hit back hard and along with her colleagues in the Assembly took the Maulana to task who after much fuming and fumbling had to beat a retreat and eat the humble pie. The "Gustakh-e-Rasul" bill too was mishandled. Representatives of the minority committees and members of the Opposition subjected the government to considerable criticism. Nawaz Sharif's statement that another Shariat Bill was in the offing also, was not well received. In the Senate, where separate seats have been earmarked for Pir Pagara Leaguers and Tariq Chaudhry, the attempt to increase the telephone charges was failed and the government had to cut a sorry figure.

Another embarrassment which the ruling group had to suffer repeatedly this very month has been the breaking of the quorum or the lack of it, in the National Assembly, day after day. This has served to suggest that the IJI as the majority party is not keen to take the National Assembly seriously. The frequent absence of Ministers to answer questions and participate in the proceedings of the Assembly and the Senate has also come in for adverse criticism in the Press.

There is thus much evidence to suggest that the Nawaz Sharif government is seemingly beginning to lose its bearings. The revelation of tapes by the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] exposing the alleged involvement of officials and an IJI minister in the conspiracy to bring the PPP government down, has only added to the IJI government's discomfiture. No clear denial of the tape contents has come from the concerned quarters and the President's remarks in this regard have not been well received in the Press.

Adverting to another recent development, a number of national dailies have editorially come down heavily on Nawaz Sharif for openly associating himself with the dictator Ziaul Haq's legacy. His speech on the occasion of the late President's death anniversary in which he is reported to have said that he would like to follow "in his footsteps" has drawn much ire and resentment. There is a lot of food for thought for the Prime Minister in this reaction. Ziaul Haq may have been the hero of Afghanistan

Jehad, but his overall image remains one of a military dictator who backed out of his commitment to hold elections within a certain specified period, who is said to have persecuted a major national political party, who played havoc with the political process, and who has left an authoritarian imprint on the Constitution of the country. He is also generally accused of exploiting Islam to secure legitimacy for his otherwise undesirable and unauthorised overlordship. Nawaz Sharif hardly does any good to himself and to his party, in fact he inflicts considerable damage on both, when he publicly eulogises Zia's services to the country and projects himself as his follower or successor. This incidentally tends to lend strength to an impression that he is a creation of the Martial Law and a protege of the generals of the Pakistan Army. As a democratic leader duly elected by the people of Pakistan, and in his own selfish interest as also for the credibility of his party and government, it is imperative that he visibly distances himself from Ziaul Haq and his heritage. He must learn to rely on his own credentials and his own strength as a chosen leader of the people of Pakistan who is determined to make a success of the current democratic experiment. Any expedient alignment with vested interests dedicated to the memory of the rule of a dictator is both short-sighted and undesirable.

Another impression assiduously being built up in the Press these days is that Nawaz Sharif is very much a "beleaguered" Prime Minister and that he is increasingly isolated. Now that most of the earlier rumours and disinformation about imminent action by the President to dismiss the government and wishful thinking about a take-over by the Army have been debunked and laid to rest, a new kind of speculation is being hatched that a change is about to take place in the IJI leadership from within. Jama'at-e-Islami's parting of the ways from the alliance and the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] opting out of the IJI fold and government's ambiguous relations with it are cited as signs of Nawaz Sharif's increasingly untenable position. To add to the pressures on the Prime Minister, threats are being hurled of *en bloc* resignations (a bluff since called by the PM [Prime Minister]), long marches, protest rallies and sit-ins in front of the Parliament and the President's House in Islamabad. All this noise and fury is meant to destabilise the government, push the President to take drastic action and sow seeds of doubt and uncertainty in the armed forces about the viability and competence of the IJI government.

It is time for Nawaz Sharif and his government to take stock of the situation, to recognise their faults and weaknesses, to plug holes and remedy defects and deficiencies. Despite pressures and constraints, internal and external, and in fact to squarely face the formidable challenges and daunting tasks, the Prime Minister has, of necessity, to review his priorities, proficiencies and take some hard decisions.

A new, realistic and forward-looking orientation needs to be developed.

First and foremost, Parliament's supremacy as the most vital national institution must be established. The Treasury Benches, including the Prime Minister and his cabinet colleagues, must attend its sessions regularly and punctually. They must take its business seriously. The committee system should be made functional and productive. Let the working of the executive—the ministries and other agencies—be under constant scrutiny of the Parliamentary committees. This will help the MNAs [members of National Assembly] to earn their privileges and learn how they should discharge their duties and responsibilities. Further, all matters of national importance should be debated on the floor of the House. Let the Opposition feel that it is participating in decision-making at the highest level.

Secondly, the IJI government need not shout from the housetops about the *Sharia* and its enforcement. More than enough Islamic provisions already exist in the Constitution and in fact some pruning is required. What is urgently needed is that in line with the new economic policies and for securing accelerated investment, a progressive and modern outlook is cultivated. At present contradictory signals are being released and unnecessary confusion created. Also, there should be no hesitation anymore to bring in women in the Parliament. The needful should be done without further delay. At all costs the IJI government must dispel the unfortunate image of its being overly conservative and unprogressive. This is all the more necessary if the international image of Pakistan as a modern and forward-looking country is to be created. The government need not hesitate to improve its human rights record in consultation with the Opposition and the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan.

Thirdly, all legitimate grievances of the Opposition should be identified and addressed, taking its members into confidence. Joint committees and commissions should be set up for this purpose. The government (blessed as it is with a comfortable majority) should not only be just to them, it should also be generous in its relations and treatment of the Opposition members.

Fourthly, the Sindh operation should not be allowed to drag on. Unnecessary delay will harm both the military and the civil administration. Maximum powers permitted by the Constitution should be given to the Army to do the job effectively and expeditiously. It is myopic to carry on with a weak and ramshackle government in Sindh. Let there be, instead, a competent, fair and imaginative Governor in the province who runs the administration with a firm hand, provides full cooperation and support to the Army and holds fresh assembly elections soon after the Army has finished its task. The central government must save itself from the unhealthy fallout of the present Sindh government's reservations about action against certain individuals. Already there is talk about the slowing down of the operation because of such considerations. Nawaz Sharif has to realise the high cost of hesitation arising out of unwholesome attempts to protest "allied" criminals.

Fifthly, Nawaz Sharif should have detailed and open-ended sittings with Junejo and other central and provincial Muslim League leaders to develop a meaningful programme to reorganise the Muslim League and strive to infuse a new life in its rank and file. It should cease to be a party bolstered by official crutches. A public-spirited leader like Mr. Wyne should be entrusted with this task on a whole-time basis.

Last but not the least, all accusations against the government, made by the Opposition or the Press, should be thoroughly scrutinised and fully explained as quickly as possible. Inadequate explanations and a deliberate reluctance to ignore or hide facts is self-defeating and does more harm than good. The Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers should set an example in this respect so that the government's credibility and legitimacy is kept free from doubt or unhealthy controversy. (The recent detailed and well-formulated rebuttal by Minister Chaudhry Amir Hussain to Benazir's allegations about the delay in the disposal of "references" is a good example of how the government should react to public accusations.)

The Prime Minister and his government will be well advised to consider these suggestions. Failure to take remedial and corrective steps on the lines above indicated could be disastrous.

Politicalization of Intelligence Agencies Regretted *92AS1547C Lahore THE NATION in English 25 Aug 92 p 9*

[Article by Azizud Din Ahmad: "Intelligence Agencies in Politics"]

[Text] Salman Taseer, the Central Information Secretary of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], released on August 10, six audio tapes containing, as claimed by him, the conversation between ISI [Inter-Service Intelligence], IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] and PPP leaders, revealing the way PPP MNAs [members of National Assembly] were offered bribes during no-confidence move against the PPP government. The operation condemned [as published] "Operation Midnight Jackals" was supposedly launched towards the last quarter of 1989 and the tapes record conversation between Brig. Imtiaz, Major Aamir and the present Federal Minister Malik Naeem on the one hand and PPP MNAs Arif Awan and Rai Rashid Ahmad Khan on the other.

During the conversation recorded on the tapes, Malik Naeem talks about paying 125 lakh rupees to purchase the loyalties of 8 MNAs from tribal areas. Brig. Imtiaz promises plots of land worth 15 to 20 lakh rupees to PPP turncoats instead of money. He further promises to keep the transfer of plots secret.

The transcript of these six tapes covers 123 pages, of which 41 were released to the Press. The rest were held back, according to Salman Taseer, due to the sensitive nature of matter contained in them. He claimed that

PPP was in possession of video-tapes of a similar nature and would go to the Supreme Court to get justice. While allegations of horse-trading against PPP were unproved, he said, there was on hand a "definite recorded proof of horse-trading by a clique of government officers and Malik Naeem of IJI under instructions from Nawaz Sharif, which constitutes treason".

ISI is thus once again on the carpet, and this time caught red-handed, with allegedly well-recorded proofs. If the tapes are really genuine they present ISI in a very unfavourable light. Here is a sensitive intelligence agency of the Federal Government created to act as its eyes and ears, plotting against the very authority it is supposed to keep informed about machinations against it. The matter becomes even more serious as the persons involved are two officers of the army, supposed to be highly disciplined and loyal to their superiors. They were later on sacked but were serving officers at the time when they hatched the plot at the behest of IJI. As the matter is of great national importance, the Supreme Court would do the nation great service if it takes it up. If the allegations are really correct the persons involved deserve condign punishment, serving as a lesson to others. If we go on condemning matters so serious, there would be nothing to stem the decay that has set into our national institutions.

This is not the first time ISI has been blamed to have let down the civilian authority. In 1977, it was accused of having kept Mr. Bhutto uninformed about the preparation of the military coup against him. The chief of the department was later on well rewarded by Gen Zia who made him first the Secretary-General Defence and then the Governor of Punjab for five years.

The ISI and the IB [Intelligence Bureau] are the two most prestigious cloak-and-dagger organisations in Pakistan. The civilian IB has in the past vied with its army counterpart in influence. But since the Zia regime the ISI has left the IB far behind due to immense financial resources and thousands of functionaries at its disposal. Established under Brig. Shahid Hamid (later Maj-Gen) just after the creation of Pakistan, it remained a modest outfit for quite some time. The Directorate of ISI was to be raised to the level of a Directorate General under a Maj-General much later on. The ISI rose to new heights during the Zia period when he extended its role from that of an organisation which merely gathered information and analysed it to the one responsible for covert action in Afghanistan. Huge funds and deadly ammunition supplied by the United States and other countries as aid to the Afghan resistance were channelled through ISI. It dealt with Mujaheddin organisations, resolved their disputes, provided them with training and even prepared war plans for them. It thus came to command unusual authority and prestige.

Zia employed the ISI for another purpose, by and large unknown to it before his period. He used it for the political objective of trying to perpetuate his rule. ISI during the long Zia era did not remain a purely national

institution working to foil the machinations of the foreign enemies of the state of Pakistan. Side by side with this function it was handed over the responsibility of propping up, through covert action, an unpopular regime. This task was to become all the more important as time passed and as the threat of a democratic movement to the Zia regime increased. The ISI was now called upon to spy on political parties and the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy]. Its functionaries interrogated scores of political workers at torture centres spread all over the country.

Not only the ISI but also the IB were employed to crush the opponents of the military regime of Ziaul Haq. Both organisations thus continued to degenerate as the defence of the country was confused with the defence of an individual. Even today they continue to suffer from the legacy and the complaint made by Salman Taseer relates to what Zia did to these prime national institutions.

It is not without reason that civilian heads of government after Zia had to work hard to bring these two institutions under their control. Soon after he became the Prime Minister, Junejo was to find that the two intelligence agencies were not cooperating with him. Even the civilian IB had in 1985 been handed over to a serving army officer Maj-Gen Agha Nek Muhammad. Junejo found it difficult to dislodge the powerful ISI chief, Lt-Gen Akhtar Abdur Rehman, or his successor Maj-Gen. Hamid Gul, but he succeeded in replacing the IB chief with his confidant Mian Aslam Hayat. The fear that Junejo might succeed in removing the ISI chief, a Zia man, after the Ojri Camp bungling, served as the immediate cause of the dismissal of his government. Soon after the Junejo man heading the IB was also replaced.

The Benazir government substituted both the ISI and the IB men. It was easier in the case of the latter than in that of the former. Sh Ikram was appointed as the head of the IB immediately but it took her no less than five months to kick Hamid Gul upstairs by promoting him first as a Lt-Gen. and then sending him out of Islamabad to Multan Corps Headquarters. Benazir's appointee Lt-Gen. S. R. Kallue, however, got little cooperation from his staff during his brief tenure and was removed soon after Benazir was sacked.

Nawaz Sharif too, weary of the older lot, replaced the two heads by the Kashmiri Lt-Gen. Javed Nasir who was appointed as Director-General ISI, and Brig. Imtiaz as Director IB. This is the same Imtiaz who according to the tapes produced by Salman Taseer has been involved in horse-trading during the no-confidence move against Benazir Bhutto. Imtiaz, according to the Information Secretary of the PPP, "epitomises the fascist clique that the dictator Zia assembled around him and passed on to Nawaz Sharif." A man who "specialises in dirty tricks and anti-democratic moves the one of which was the so-called AZO [Al Zulfikar Organization] circus in Shah

Bunder in which so-called terrorists equipped with identity cards and letter heads were conveniently apprehended on the high seas." He is also accused by Taseer of having "orchestrated the Singapore Airlines high-jacking together with Jam Sadiq Ali."

The other ISI man associated with "Operation Midnight Jackals" is Maj. Aamir, rewarded according to Taseer for his performance with appointment as Director Immigration. He has been accused of subverting the Sindh operation by not publishing the exit control list, thus allowing dacoits and criminals to escape.

The present episode related to the tapes sent by PPP to the Supreme Court raises important questions. Among them is the question of the definition of the functions of intelligence agencies. It is high time they are told what to do and what they must avoid to undertake.

Intelligence agencies like the ISI and the IB must restrict their activity to gathering information about the enemies of the state of Pakistan, sifting and analysing it. They must inform the duly elected government about the enemy plans. It is for the government to take necessary steps. We require no vigilance committees or self-appointed vigilantes.

In Pakistan important officials belonging to sensitive organisations have in the past got involved in practical politics. They have taken over tasks fit for politicians only, like winning over members of Assemblies, creating political parties or fronts, or uniting different political elements. The hasty creation of IJI, for instance, has been ascribed to the ISI which wanted to keep the PPP out of power. The ISI has also been accredited with bringing into existence the volatile MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement]. If higher intelligence organisations start indulging in practical politics of this sort, they would make themselves controversial partisans. They would waste their funds and energies in an exercise that should be none of their business. They would thus be neglecting the task they are being paid for. They must leave practical politics to political parties of which there is hardly any dearth in the country.

It is necessary that individuals deeply involved in practical politics are not allowed to man sensitive intelligence agencies. They are liable to misinterpret information at their disposal and misguide those they are supposed to inform.

It must not be the business of ISI or IB to prop up a regime, or conversely to conspire to overthrow it. Both are criminal activities and should be strictly punished.

Diplomatic Function Attendance by Nomination Preferred

92AS1349C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 18 Jul 92 p 12

[Article by Aroosa Alam: "President, PM (Prime Minister) Not To Attend Diplomatic Functions"]

[Text] Islamabad, 17 Jul—The President and the Prime Minister from now onwards would not attend any diplomatic function, THE MUSLIM learned here from official sources.

The decision has been conveyed by the Cabinet Division to all the ministers and the ministers of state who have also been advised to follow the suit.

In future, after receipt of invitations for diplomatic functions, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would nominate two ministers by rotation for attending such functions. The names of those ministers would be conveyed to the hosts.

While asking the ministers and ministers of state to keep their attendance of these functions to the minimum, the Cabinet Division had also asked them to ensure that the officials also abide by the decision. Though under the existing rules, officials were barred from going to functions arranged by foreign missions but it had been observed that a large number of them make it a point not to miss any such opportunity.

The official sources were not willing to divulge the background of the decision. However, it was gathered that this practice was being discarded as no where in the world the national day function arranged by Pakistani missions were attended by heads of government or state of the host countries. Even ministers and officials do not attend these functions. But here the President and the Prime Minister are regular visitors to the national day receptions hosted by embassies from time to time.

Valid Reasons Outlined for PDA's Continuing

92AS1349A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 18 Jul 92 p 6

[Editorial: "PDA Must Not Succumb to Its Chain of Frustrations"]

[Text] The People's Democratic Alliance [PDA] seems to be unable to shed its habit of speaking incoherently and far too frequently for its own good. Now it is threatening to resign en masse from all legislatures, including the federal. There are scores of very valid reasons why it shouldn't be contemplating anything of the kind. Politics of resignation is patently politics of withdrawal. It is negative expression of a mood rooted in grievance. However genuine the grievance the PDA might have—and most of their grievances are without doubt genuine—resignation is unlikely to procure the needed remedy. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is quite happy and would like to see the PDA out of the assemblies. He can hardly wait to hold by-elections. He knows the art of winning elections against Himalayan odds. He has his experts. Didn't he win the 1990 elections, turning the country's 1988 picture upside down? More recently, his man won hands down in the late Jam Sadiq Ali constituency. No wonder Mr. Nawaz Sharif has gleefully welcomed the PDA's reported toying with the idea of relinquishing their not inconsequential presence in the

national and provincial legislatures. PDA would be most ill advised to let its sense of grievance get the better of its political commonsense.

For his part, Premier Nawaz Sharif has let the cat out of the bag. He is almost admitting that he has made the life of his political opponents (also critics in non-political positions) so unendurably miserable that they have started talking loudly of giving up the ghost. To say the very least, it is most indelicate for a Prime Minister tirelessly boasting of overwhelming majority behind him, to talk to the opposition so dismissively. If his democratic pretensions have an iota of truth, he ought to be advising the PDA against any idea of vacating their seats in the National and provincial legislatures. Instead, he should have invited the opposition leadership for an earnest discussion of their complaints and grievances. Clearly, Mr. Nawaz Sharif is substituting snuffy arrogance for his diminishing self-confidence. This sort of Dutch courage is not quite the way to enhance one's stock when it may be on the decline.

The People's Democratic Alliance is admittedly not the grouping which would scare anyone in Pakistan of today. But the PDA leadership would be doing itself less than good if it developed any sense of inferiority and helplessness. No doubt, the PDA has received a most shabby and distasteful treatment from the government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Sadly, the President hasn't cared to help heal the rift. As an elder statesman it was his moral as well as political duty to do that. Instead he has given the appearance of being less than impartial and not always disinclined to take a hand in matters he had better left alone. The PDA have solid reasons to be unhappy, but none to be hopeless. The government of Mr. Nawaz Sharif is unwittingly cooperating with the opposition by an unending chain of political indiscretions and administrative blunders. The PDA has more goodwill than it perhaps realises. It ought to be building upon it, regardless of the obstructions deliberately contrived by the governments, national as well as provincial. This is not the end of the world. Now, a word to the Prime Minister. Please try to put your fingers on the pulse of the nation. Or, even before that, look back on your government's performance. There is not a corner in your cupboard where you do not have a skeleton lurking. There is no harm in self-analysis. If you do not have such trained minds which can make an unbiased assessment of your government's record to date, please hire some from abroad. Some Satchis & Satchis, for instance. Things are not as rosy as you might think or as your radio and television would like you to think. You want to complete your term. Another two years or so in office. That is, another two years or so of making mistakes! Another point to ponder is that when the next general elections do come round you may not necessarily have the kind of expertise available which made your 1990 triumph possible. We live in a fast changing world, even in Pakistan. Tomorrow is another day.

PDA Demands Ishaq Khan's Immediate Resignation
92AS1349B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 Jul 92 p 12

[Article by Arif Jamal: "Ishaq's Resignation Only Way Out: PDA"]

[Text] Islamabad, 17 Jul—The Central Coordination Committee of the Peoples Democratic Alliance [PDA] asked President Ghulam Ishaq Khan to resign immediately.

In a PDA resolution, released by Iqbal Haider, Central Information Secretary, the Coordination Committee said, "there is no other recourse for the nation now but to force his resignation."

The resolution also demanded dissolution of Federal and Provincial governments and legislatures which came into being as a consequence of rigged elections. It demanded that neutral governments of national consensus be entrusted with the task of holding free and fair elections in the country.

The resolution said only President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was responsible for all the crises being faced by the country. "He has consistently sacrificed national interest at the altar of personal vendetta" and has undermined all the national institutions including the judiciary, the executive, the armed forces and others to give effect to a warped vision.

The strongly worded resolution said the President has usurped the people's rights to liberty, the right of free speech and association and shown his hatred for the elected representatives of the people.

The resolution asked for the trial of the President on treason charges for supporting separatists in all the provinces of the country. The MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] was a terrorist organisation which was running torture and rape cells as well as extortion rackets with the full backing of the President. President encouraged this organisation just to crush the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], the resolution said.

The resolution was very critical of President's attitude towards operation clean-up in Sindh. It alleged that the President was out to sabotage it by asking the army to go easy on criminals and terrorists. It said, "the President does not want any good to happen in the country."

The son-in-law of the President, Irfan Ullah Marwat, the resolution said, was involved in heinous crimes like rape, murder, kidnapping for ransom, but nobody could bring him to justice.

The resolution regretted that no action had been taken against the officials of the Prime Minister Secretariat who had been looting the poor people through the blind Qari. The officials of the PM [Prime Minister] Secretariat, the resolution alleged, had extorted 80 million rupees but the Prime Minister has turned his back to this injustice.

The resolution lashed out at the Prime Minister for illegally monopolising his relatives' property. It said it was the worst example of state terrorism. It criticised the Prime Minister for using police terror against his own relatives. It said, "the person who has deprived his own relatives of their property cannot protect his nation's rights."

Iqbal Haider told the Press that the PDA was planning to hold a rally on 30 July in Karachi against the lawlessness and the unconstitutional way the Sindh Assembly was handled.

Sindh Crisis: 'Peace Prospects' Viewed

Political Dialogue Recommended

92AS1347A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
10 Jul 92 p 3

[Article by Afiya Khalil: "Political Dialogue in Sindh: A Way Out of the Crisis"]

[Text] The democratic political structure of Pakistan is again under pressure as one of its provinces is facing grave politico-ethnic problems.

The situation in Sindh today is a direct outcome of the internal chaotic conditions, which intensified under the government of Jam Sadiq Ali, supported by MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement], the group which repeatedly swept the polls at all levels in urban Sindh.

The coalition had provoked Sindhi nationalism further as PPP [Pakistan People's Party], the largest political party in rural Sindh, was kept out of power. The tussle between the Jam Government and the People's Party led to a complete breakdown of law and order both in urban and rural Sindh.

To prevent further degeneration of the politico-ethnic situation, the Government called in the army. This decision was taken by the present regime as a last resort to try and restore harmony in the province.

The army started military operations in Sindh early last month. After some minor operations in interior Sindh, the army's credibility in the area was eroded because of the "Jamshoro incident," in which nine innocent people were killed and dubbed Indian trained terrorists.

The army then started the second phase of the Operation Clean-Up in urban Sindh, hoping to restore its falling credibility. In the process, it attacked, with the dissident group of the party in the forefront, offices of the MQM, arrested many of its senior leaders and unearthed what it called torture cells allegedly operated by the MQM.

Will it help if the present leaders of the MQM, discredited as terrorists, are replaced by another set of individuals, is not clear yet.

Whatever the ultimate results may be of this Army action in Sindh, it is evident that it will not help remove

the distortions prevailing in the province because of the urban-rural divide which is likely to continue in the absence of any meaningful effort to resolve the basic issues, i.e., socioeconomic deprivation and political exploitation. The urban-rural duality will remain the core problem in the province. In other words, if the vested interests continue to support one group at the cost of the other, the political structure of Sindh will remain distorted.

Thus, the urban-rural dichotomy calls for a reconciliation between the two major groups of Sindh. This can come about only when the genuine representatives of these groups, which in the present scenario are PPP and MQM come together to negotiate and arrive at a workable arrangement. Only in this way can the people of Sindh as a whole cooperate for the larger benefit of the province and for the political betterment of national politics.

Ms. Benazir Bhutto referred to the same problem in Multan the other day when she said, "We saw the birth of contradictions within provinces. In NWFP [North-West Frontier Province], Hazara versus non-Hazara; in Sindh Urdu-speaking versus Sindhi-speaking; in Punjab, Saraiki versus non-Saraiki, and in Balochistan, Pushtoon versus Baloch."

Beyond provincial autonomy, as pointed out by Benazir, what is pertinent is the resolution of the political contradictions at the provincial level through consensus and cooperation of the major groups.

Frequent references to the East Pakistan debacle in the context of the crisis in Sindh underline the urgency of the resolution of the problem. Although there are few similarities between the two situations, the magnitude of the threat to national cohesion and integrity is almost the same.

Our immediate concern, therefore, should be to normalise the situation in the province because right now, the local contradictions are most acute there. Whatever the ultimate result of the military operation in Sindh, the solution of the local contradiction, i.e., reconciliation between the rural and urban Sindh will go a long way in helping to resolve similar contradictions in other provinces.

As Operation Clean-up focussed sharply on urban Sindh, the MQM leadership reacted by directing its legislators to resign from the membership in the Assemblies as a protest against what it said was victimisation of its people. The central committee of MQM also announced the dissolution of the entire party structure at the lowest level.

By early last week, it was confirmed that 24 out of a total of 28 Provincial and 13 out of 15 National Assembly members of MQM have responded to the directive of their central leadership. This decision of the MQM leadership goes to show their confidence in their electorate and also the faith of the MQM legislators in their leadership.

Whether and when these resignations are accepted is not relevant. The fact remains that the resignations of MQM's elected representatives have created a vacuum in politics, particularly in the Sindh province.

In the given scenario, it is immaterial to talk about by-elections, Sindh elections, or national elections. To tackle this problem purely in political terms, a meaningful and effective dialogue between the genuine representatives of the urban and rural Sindh is needed. Any attempt of interference by the Government or any agency on its behalf, or on behalf of any other political party will adversely affect the chances of a free and frank dialogue between the true representatives of the two groups in Sindh.

It is imperative that the two major parties representing rural and urban Sindh, the PPP and the MQM, should be allowed to work out "a new balance...where each works in a complementing fashion" for common goals and objectives. There is every reason to believe that they can agree to such a balance which could provide a new beginning. This understanding, with or without new elections in Sindh, will need to be respected by everyone.

This looks to be the only way for the democratic political structure to survive.

Economic Overhaul Sought

92AS1347B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
11 Jul 92 p 6

[Article by S. Ahmed: "If the Army Action Is To Be a Lasting Success"; boldface words as published]

[Text] The army action in Sindh has, of course, to continue. What other option is there when the political failure in the province is absolute and the police is part of the crime and its substantial promoter and beneficiary, instead of being a part of the solution?

Of course, if the Centre had opted for a real political settlement in Sindh the task of suppressing the big criminal gangs and other lawless elements might have become less arduous or more manageable. But that is not what the Centre wants. The centre wants the **status quo** even after the exit of MQM from the Sindh Assembly and cabinet.

If earlier President Ghulam Ishaq and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif wanted a government in Sindh without the largest party—PPP [Pakistan People's party]—and grabbed a part of that through coercion and overt seduction, they are now trying to run the provincial government without the second largest party—the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] whose 24 members out of 28 in the Provincial Assembly have resigned.

The self-assured Chief Minister Muzaffar Shah wants to continue in office as long as the going is good. What matters to him is not whether he has a majority support in the Sindh Assembly of 109 members—which he certainly does not have—but that the PPP could not oust

him from office without the support of 55 members which it does not have now.

The PPP's 36 members plus six of the Jatoi Group make only 42 members. Hence it is making efforts to win back the 12 PPP MPAs [Member of Provincial Assembly] who had deserted to Jam Sadiq Ali and some IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] or independent members backing Mr. Muzaffar Shah. But Mr. Shah is making sure that the MQM resignations are not accepted readily so that the strength of the assembly is not reduced and the PPP-Jatoi group is not enabled to have a majority in the Assembly of sitting members. After the MQM resignations are accepted the total membership of the Assembly will be reduced to 85, and the PPP may be able to command a majority of 43 members which can make official legislation impossible even if the PPP cannot oust Mr. Shah until it mobilises 55 members. Whether it would need 55 members even after the resignations of the MQM members are accepted is a moot constitutional point.

Meanwhile the army action has to continue as otherwise the dacoits and other criminals will be emboldened and may step up their crimes, including mass kidnappings which have become in vogue. The recent kidnapping of 20 persons from the Baiji Sharif shrine near Punnu Aquil after killing eight persons—10 old and sick persons have since been released—and the hijacking of a wagon with six passengers near Larkana on Monday underscore the kind of challenge the army faces in Sindh even when a large number of criminals have gone underground or moved away from their traditional scenes of operation.

In addition, too many dead bodies abandoned after killing are surfacing here and there in Karachi. Who they are, and who killed them is not obvious. And in the absence of relations to claim their bodies and press for police enquiries, not much of investigation into the causes of their death and identity of the killers is undertaken. The MQM has hence asked for investigation in regard to ten mutilated bodies found in the city from different places.

All that makes it imperative for the military action to continue, despite the lack of a political settlement, as the number of criminals and their promoters and beneficiaries have been increasing steadily. And if the army action is aborted leaving the dacoits where they are more young men may take to crimes in a big way.

The Prime Minister met the Press on Wednesday with Governor Mahmoud Haroon and Chief Minister Muzaffar Shah flanking him. He wanted to ascertain the Press or popular reaction to the campaign. The fact is the popular reaction to it is not a constant one. To begin with, the campaign has just begun after being delayed for six to eight weeks which gave enough time to the culprits and their patrons to escape. Only Mr. Salim Shahzad vice President of the MQM was nabbed by the police

while crossing into Balochistan. And it remains unclear now whether he is in the custody of the police and is free or half-free.

There was real jubilation in the interior Sindh as the crackdown on the MQM began in the name of rounding up criminals and busting their 123 torture cells. But now the interior of Sindh awaits the promised full-blooded action in those areas. If improper acts or excesses are committed through excessive zeal or misguided approach of some elements in the law enforcing agencies, the reaction in the interior can be very adverse as it was following the Tando Bahawal killings, and the death of four persons during interrogation there, including Mr. Jhokrani, friend and political organiser of the Federal Minister Mir Hazar Khan Bijrani.

That means that each major action the army takes from now on has to be positive to produce a positive reaction in the people and avoid a negative fall-out.

Reports of torture of Junwar Khalid MQM MNA [Member of National Assembly], whom the Prime Minister regards as a good and decent person, has upset people in Karachi. He was arrested on a murder charge and investigations could have been conducted without torture and employing primitive methods to extract evidence or force out any kind of confession. The Prime Minister has promised to hold an inquiry and ascertain facts.

The Prime Minister as well as others maintain that the army action is directed against criminals regardless of their party affiliations, including the Muslim League. So far no big persons have been arrested, except Kunwar Khalid and Mr. Salim Shahzad. Will more of them be picked up later?

According to Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto of the Sindh National Front the number of big time criminals, including Patharidars among them is around 2,000. Some of them have been killed and a few arrested. The policy since Jam Sadiq became CM [Chief Minister] has been to kill the big dacoits in action to the maximum possible extent instead of trying to arrest them and face trouble in the courts as the requisite evidence to convict them is seldom available because of the mortal fear of instant & reprisal from dacoit gangs. Anyway the army action is going to be a long haul as the dacoits who vanished from their scenes of operation have either to return or be located and challenged elsewhere in Sindh or outside the province.

The army has been hoping that the rains would come soon and flood the Katcha areas and force the dacoits who operate from such dense areas to move out. They could be picked up or shot at that stage. But the rains have been late in coming. And some experts say that when the rains or floods come the dacoits would know how to escape from the Katcha areas without being confronted by the army or police.

If the campaign is to be a long term success and not a short term triumph, it needs a four-pronged approach. First the big criminals in the urban and rural areas of Sindh and their promoters and beneficiaries have to be eliminated.

2. The police and the civil administration, including the local officials in the interior of Sindh, have to be rid of all corrupt and criminal elements so that Sindh can have a clean and efficient administration. That could mean booting out many of the elements brought in by Jam Sadiq or propped up to high offices and invested with excessive authority.

3. A real political settlement that does not deny the PPP, which is the largest single party, its legitimate role in the government or at least permits to function openly and peacefully. The local officials in the province discriminate against the PPP leaders, workers and others.

4. A comprehensive economic rehabilitation plan for Sindh which creates a large number of jobs in both the rural and urban areas. That could mean a large investment and its effective utilisation. If the bulk of the money comes out of Centre the other provinces, particularly the NWFP [North West Frontier Province] and Balochistan, may claim similar contribution. So it may be advisable to seek external aid for the purpose or give the amount as a special loan. Without such a massive job creation, while the present criminals are arrested or shot, new waves of unemployed young may take to crime as their predecessors did for economic survival and then for instant prosperity.

If instead the Centre approaches it as a largely law and order problem and maintains that Sindh has now a democratic set-up or elected government, it would be cruelly deluding itself and making its task exceedingly difficult and its exertions at a high political cost to itself, futile. And the Centre should not manage things in Sindh in such a manner that the political failure in Sindh is neutralised by the army now, and the political vacuum which may arise at the Centre later will be filled by the armed forces themselves willy nilly as in the tragic past.

Ishaq Khan, Sharif Meet

92AS1347C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
15 Jul 92 p 12

[Article by Mohammad Saleh Zafar: "President, PM (Prime Minister) Review Sindh Operation"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad, 14 Jul—Prime Minister [PM] Mohammad Nawaz Sharif had an unscheduled lengthy meeting with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan here at the Aiwan-e-Sadr on Tuesday.

The Prime Minister, who was to proceed to Peshawar, Dir and Nowshera in the morning, cancelled his programme due to inclement weather and instead made a call on the President.

The Prime Minister left for Peshawar in the evening. However he would not go to Dir, as earlier planned.

The President-PM meeting started at 9:45 am and went on till the afternoon.

The President's House or the Prime Minister's Secretariat officially gave no details about the meeting. But THE MUSLIM learned on reliable authority that the operation clean-up in Sindh was the major subject of discussion. General Asif Nawaz, Chief of the Army Staff, had a detailed meeting with the President on Monday. It was stated that the COAS [Chief of Army Staff] briefed the President on the 'impediments' the local commanders were facing in carrying forward the clean-up operation.

It is believed the President briefed the Prime Minister on the views expressed by the COAS a day earlier.

It was stated that the President and the Prime Minister agreed to clear all the hurdles in the way of the army in carrying forward the clean-up operation. The proposed legislation to provide a legal cover to the Sindh operation also came under discussion.

The National Assembly's session, which was reportedly requisitioned for 16 July, had not been summoned by the President, because, sources said, an Ordinance might be issued by the President to give a legal cover to the army for the Sindh operation.

Meanwhile the spokesman of the Aiwan-e-Sadr has termed as speculative a news item appearing in a section of the press that a message was given by the President through Mir Afzal Khan, Chief Minister NWFP [North West Frontier Province], to the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leaders that he (President) would dissolve the National Assembly, the moment he received the resignations of the members of the National Assembly belonging to the opposition. The spokesman denied any such contact between the President and the Opposition leader.

Political observers are of the view that the President would under no circumstances exercise this option because if he dissolved the Assembly he would be required to appoint leader of the Opposition Benazir Bhutto as the care-taker Prime Minister, as per the precedent he set himself when he appointed the then leader of the opposition Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi as the care-taker Prime Minister when he dissolved Benazir Bhutto's government.

Observers point out this is the one option that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan would not like to opt.

Sindh: Situation Viewed, Lessons Learned

Sindhi Press Reviewed

92AS1348A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
15 Jul 92 p 5

[Article by Dr. Azizur Rahman Bughio: "Scrutiny of Irregularities by Bureaucracy Essential"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] A popular Sindhi daily JAGO (12/7) has, editorially, supported Senator and former Sindh Assembly Speaker, Syed Abdullah Shah's demand for a legal scrutiny of all misdeeds and irregularities committed by the bureaucracy in Sindh on the instigation and encouragement of MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] which, according to the paper, fall in another category of terrorism undertaken to play havoc with administrative and financial discipline to benefit a particular ethnic group at the peril of another. Exposure of MQM's this aspect is necessary to have complete view of the harm caused by the group under the cover of politics.

The importance of this issue has cropped up, in view of the rulers' search for 'sober elements' in the Mohajir Qaumi Movement which the daily considers as a very dangerous indication.

The paper observes: "This indication has a background which sounds to be under a future planning. The Punjab has been successful from the very beginning in keeping away the Urdu-speaking population in Sindh, from the struggle of Sindhis for their awareness, interests and democratic rights."

This is obvious from the apathy and opposition demonstrated by the Urdu-speaking people right from Sindhi movement against One Unit to the issue of construction of Kalabagh Dam, including the late Bhutto's period and Zia regime in between argues the paper.

According to the paper, "Sindhis received bullets and had their heads broken during One Unit Movement but the Urdu population kept on chewing pan [beetle leaf]. Sindhis, for the first time, got a government in name, under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto but these people rose, with 'dandas' [poles (sticks)], against it, resting only when Bhutto was hanged." Similarly unhelpful was their attitude during a movement against dictator General Ziaul Haq, thinks the paper.

The paper adds, "They saw Sindhi's movement against Kalabagh Dam in a manner, as they drank water from a river flowing from space instead of the River Indus." They prefer jobs going to outsiders rather than to Sindhis, alleges the paper. "All this continued to happen under the alliance of Punjab's narrow-minded, anti-democracy and vested interests group, from which they also received a share of benefits.

Now the search for 'sober elements' in fact, is a preparation of continuing that filthy alliance. This is not only anti-Sindh but also anti-Pakistan attitude on which the

rulers seem to be determined, because it is on that instigation and backing that the leadership of Urdu population does not allow Urdu-speaking people to come to terms with the Sindhis, thus feeding a blaze of fire of instability for Pakistan in Sindh, through hatred," complains the paper.

In conclusion, the paper demands the entire affair of MQM to be entrusted to a commission comprised of Supreme Court Judges to minutely examine what this ethnic group is accused of in terms of all kinds of terrorism.

PPP Blocking Condemned

92AS1348B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
17 Jul 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Before, During and After the Sindh Assembly Session"]

[Text] It is such a pity that the two-day session of the Sindh provincial Legislative Assembly was not televised. We certainly have missed a great deal of action: noise and fury signifying little except our nearly total lack of political manners. So whatever happened, or was resolutely prevented from happening, is more or less known, by now, to those who would care to know. What remains of greater interest is what happened before the Sindh Legislative Assembly actually met, and what is now happening and going to happen for some time. The status of the resignation of the Speaker remains obscure. The same has to be said about the resignations of the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] members of the Assembly. There is absolutely no reason why these issues should not be crystal clear. The moment a letter of resignation, written by hand by the person resigning is received by the competent authority under the rules, it must be passed on to the Chief Election Commissioner for further action. A resignation letter is like the proverbial arrow shot out of the bow [dark?]: The confusion over the resignations, that of the Speaker and the MQM MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] is a deliberate distortion of the rules and the whole rumpus is mala fide. Even if it is argued that the letter of the relevant rules has been conformed to, the spirit has been not only violated but nearly vandalised. This leaves the Muzaffar Shah government and its supporters in a poor light. That a person of Mr. Shah's education and refinement should have succumbed to such petty-fogging politics cannot be deplored too strongly.

What is happening now? The Assembly has been prorogued in a huff. It transacted no business beyond a demonstration of frustration and frayed nerves all over. There evidently was more action behind the facade of the actual assembly sitting. Where are the missing MQM MPAs? What are they doing? Or, perhaps more interesting, what is being done to them? One report from Karachi speaks of the police busy combing those localities where the MQM strongholds are supposed to be. They are mostly lower middle class districts of Karachi.

Reports rife suggest that the police is under orders to locate the unavailable MQM-walas. It doesn't take much argument to establish that if this version of the police activity is correct, the government of Mr. Muzaffar Shah is out to get the wayward MQM partners of his government back among his troops. And also evident is their reluctance to do so. What our politicians in power do to bring the estranged supporters round is now fairly common knowledge. You start with gifts (the going term for bribe) and if that doesn't work then the police takes over. And one can rest assured that the officers know their job. They are almost certain to deliver. From what one can see and surmise, much friendly persuasion is in progress. The name of the game is horse-trading.

Is Syed Muzaffar Shah alone in the game? Hardly. Mr. Shah is actually on assignment from Islamabad. He lands in Islamabad quite frequently and unexpectedly—to receive instructions. For the man in Karachi it is the same task which was first given to the late Jam Sadiq Ali. In plain terms the exercise has only one purpose: keep the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] out, whatever the means or cost in terms of anything, not excluding distortion of the political process. Mr. Shah is doing that and thereby staying the Chief Minister of the province. This determination to block the PPP represents the wish and objective not so much of Mr. Shah as of his lords and masters in the federal capital. This factor is no longer hidden from the public eye. It is hardly likely at any stage to enhance the credibility of the Nawaz Sharif government. It is wholly counterproductive. Even dangerous. All attempts at suppression of political forces backed by popular support end up in failure. The mistreatment meted out to both the PPP and MQM now is more likely to drive the more restive among their ranks into well organised and angry underground activity. Only the very short-sighted and selfish political leaders would take the risk and imperil further the peace prospects in Sindh.

Pressure for Change Increases

92AS1348C Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
18 Jul 92 p 5

[Article by Dr. Azizur Rahman Bughio: "Increasing Pressure for Change"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Although, apparently, various topics have been editorially raised by the Sindhi press, during the last couple of days, the thrust made again, centres round the question as to what would happen of Sindh in the context of what appear to be unsurmountable problems confronting the province. Vital among the issues discussed include political situation, influx of outsiders in Sindh, distribution of state lands in Katcha (area on both sides of River Indus) and raid on the house of Sindh's eminent poet, Shaikh Ayaz.

As usual, the popular daily JAGO has talked more and in wider perspective with queries worthy of notice and response. In its issue dated 16 July 1992, JAGO feels that the army operation in Sindh carries more objectives on

its agenda than meets an eye including clearance of mess created by different martial law regimes and President Ishaq Khan's decision of 6 August 1990 pushing the country to unnecessary uncertainties. "That is the reason why cracks have appeared in the confidence of martial law remnants and Chaudhry Nisar and Wyne are crying hoars against what would spoil their plans and have felt the pain caused by the 'danda' on MQM," argues the paper.

In this connection, the paper has referred to the implications of the controversy arising out from the stands taken by Ch Nisar Ali Khan and former COAS [Chief of Army Staff] Gen. Beg on the issue of MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement], down to the present music faced by Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah "who, if speaks to PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], as sounded by the army authorities, will be failing in his faithfulness to Islamabad."

The paper observes: "In totality, we see a clear shape emerging and it is this that Mian Nawaz Sharif and President Ishaq's strategy is under increasing pressure' for a change and instead of understanding and identifying the pulse of the conditions with old methods, they are resisting in an out-dated manner. When the appropriate action needed is that they should themselves be partners in the process of change."

The paper also mentions the threatened resignations by PDA legislators and President's reported talks with NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] Chief Minister Afzal Khan and Maulana Kausar Niazi, for a possible way-out and predicts that if the present rulers did not change appropriately and that too in time, they might be rendered irrelevant in the swiftly changing situation.

Commenting on the sectarian bloody incident in Peshawar and feeling ashamed of it, the JAGO (15/7) opines that "nothing in Pakistan is settled finally. Neither religion, nor politics, nor democracy, nor justice nor law. It is a bloody jungle whose animals have gone mad, eager to bite each other." The paper, in this connection, refers to the shameless doings of 'Marwats' as narrated by English magazine the NEWSLINE recently and the meaningless politics pursued in this country and thinks that most-troubled and tortured in this system are those individuals who, because of nobility and virtues are misfit in it. According to the paper, in no country of the world, will this level of degradation and moral bankruptcy be found as is rampant in Pakistan today.

The paper says that the 'concerned ruling clique' fails to feel for the people because they do not see eye to eye with the manner the rulers are conducting the country's affairs. "All arguments of country's existence and justification are losing their importance and despite this by closing all entrances to good things and concealing keys, they (rulers) have become so obstinate that they look absolutely mad," alleges the paper. The paper prays to Allah "to deliver the people from state conspiracies and restore their right to rule."

The daily KAWISH (16/7) referring to the Chief Minister Muzaffar Shah's assurance to weed out criminal elements from his cabinet given in his recent interview to the paper, draws his attention to the misdeeds of Irfanullah Marwat as disclosed by the NEWSLINE and waits for the day when Mr. Shah acts on his pledge to the people. The paper complains that Sindh has suffered and sacrificed in an indescribable manner from the very inception of Pakistan, climaxed during the days of Jam Sadiq Ali with aides like Marwats. No words can condemn the tyranny inflicted on Sindh by these so-called guardians of law and order, alleges the paper.

The Awami Awaz (16/7) is critical of the raid of law enforcement agencies on Sindhi poet Shaikh Ayaz's Sukkur house and procuring objectionable material. According to the paper, Shaikh Ayaz is a popular poet and highly respected man and any excess done to him will create wide repercussions throughout Sindh. On the reported confiscation of his books, the paper feels reminded of Tando Bahawal incident in which an attempt was made to accuse the innocent villagers of being Indian agents and of subversion. The paper says that allegation of subversive literature with Shaikh Ayaz is tantamount to calling entire Sindhi people as traitors. The paper, therefore, demands a judicial probe into the raid on Ayaz's house.

A continued and unhindered influx of outsiders into Sindh has caused concern to the HILAL-I-PAKISTAN (14/7) which in the opinion of the daily began with the establishment of Pakistan. At the beginning, Sindhis formed 80 percent population in the province which reduced to 52 percent in 1980, says the paper. This, obviously, is a serious threat of being reduced in one's own province. Analysing the problem, the paper feels that Karachi being the capital of the new country, attracted all incoming people from India with heavy concentration in all cities and towns and during One Unit period, many people from Punjab and NWFP were settled on new lands commanded by Ghulam Mohammad Barrage. Later, people from Afghanistan, Bengal, Burma, India, Iran and Sri Lanka came to Karachi in great numbers with MQM making every effort to increase its population on political grounds.

Referring to Sindh's sacrifices and role played for creation of Pakistan, the paper argues that "situation would have been different if the people of Sindh had known that they would be faced with more horrible exploitation, on the departure of Hindus."

Appreciating the plan of the Army Operation to distribute Katcha state lands among the landless Haris in Sindh, the JAGO (14/7) fears that these might be given to non-Sindhis on the pretext that such a step would prove more effective to root out the dacoit factor for ever. Another danger, in the view of the paper, is that such a thinking might justify replacement of the old with new i.e. "the creation of the impression that both the local government and the society have lost qualities to

conduct themselves." This, the paper, considers as dangerous development which in fact is the result of unrepresentative governments for a long period of time.

The paper, therefore, demands postponement of the issue of distribution of these lands to next truly representative government on the basis of free and fair elections, in the country.

Administrative Faults Probed

92AS1348D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
18 Jul 92 p 6

[Editorial: "And Now, Some Lessons From Sindh"]

[Text] Latest reports from the interior of Sindh province, though few and far between, carry hints to suggest that the law and order situation in some places may be moving towards stability. Some good news the country has been waiting for with bated breath. It is of course too soon to call for any celebration. But just enough to breathe a sigh of some little relief. For years, Sindh has been in a state of appalling unrest. The architect of Sindh's present trauma was, without any doubt, late Gen. Zia. He could not think of Sindh as the soil from where would rise the hand of nemesis to bring him down. It is not given to mortals to cure another man's heart-aches and the pangs of a lacerated soul. What the subsequent administrations at the federal level—first the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] headed by Ms. Benazir Bhutto and now the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] coalition headed by Mr. Nawaz Sharif—did to Sindh was destined to further complicate Sindh's problems. Ms. Bhutto's handling of Sindh was far from unbiased or far-sighted. She could not rise above her mind blocks. The physician needed to cure herself first. She didn't. The patient only got worse under the ministrations of a physician who failed to make the proper diagnosis. The Nawaz Sharif government brought back the Zia syndrome to Sindh. Putting the late Jam Sadiq Ali on top of Sindh with instructions to trounce the PPP at any price was a piece of political immorality which history is unlikely to forgive. Up to now, one must say that before the Jam could be denounced, the target of criticism should be those whose chestnuts that half lunatic and half paralytic agent was trying to rescue from the flame of Sindh's raging fires. As far as Sindh's problems are concerned, barring the ones which are a hang-over of centuries of history, Ms. Benazir is blameworthy as indeed is Mr. Nawaz Sharif. The difference between the errors of the two must not be lost sight of, however. Ms. Benazir acted to the detriment of Sindh but only an unwise well-wisher, Mr. Nawaz Sharif doesn't seem entitled to this qualification. What the third protagonist in this sad play, the present Chief Minister Muzaffar Shah can be accused of is simply that the task is just too complicated and risky for his meagre resources of head, heart and political stature.

From what little news has begun to trickle through, it seems that the army is coming to grips with the task

unfairly assigned to it. Inept civilian governments make a hash of their situations and then call in the army to bring things under control. That's just what happened in Peshawar the other day. This frequent display of helplessness by civil administration needs to be seriously looked into. From an amateur's point of view, this phenomenon has become endemic in Pakistan because respect for law has been diminishing, not because of the odd law-breaker but because of the malfeasance of government in power. If the police is to abuse, to harass or eliminate lawful political opposition, it would soon cease to be a force to act in support of law and protection of order. It is no longer a matter of any doubt that police forces in all provinces have long since ceased to be instruments of law. On the contrary, organised law-breaking and lawlessness is now the chief occupation of police forces in all provinces. And all this with not only the knowledge but on the bidding of the governments. More or less the same abuse is now giving an unenviable name to security agencies. While we put the army to quell civil commotion, we ought to address the vitally important task of ridding the police of its shortcomings and restoring it to the position it ought to have in society—as protectors of the victims of the law-breakers and anti-social elements. Today, a man wronged is more afraid of the man in police uniform than the criminal whose victim he knows he is. The police is no longer police. More often it is the outlaw's accomplice. How sad. But it is not the police which is at fault. It is the government at the centre as well as in the provinces. When you have rulers like Jam Sadiq Ali, how do you expect the police to protect you against the brigand?

Junejo Control of PML Said Increasing

92AS1548C Karachi *DAWN* in English 28 Aug 92 p 6

[Article by Shaheen Sehba: "Junejo's PML (Pakistan Muslim League) Breaking Loose"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad: As the Upper and the Lower Houses of Parliament faced the chronic problem of missing legislators, so much was happening outside the Parliament that many thought the day of reckoning for this elected House was approaching at a break-neck speed.

After complaining both in and outside the House that interest was diminishing, the Speaker, Capt Gohar Ayub Khan, himself stayed away on Thursday probably to assess the damage that had been caused by almost unanimously critical, some scathingly lethal, write-ups about his performance.

The main subject of discussions in the lobbies, galleries, the cafeteria and discreetly inside the House was the marathon and, in many ways, watershed PML [Pakistan Muslim League] MNAs [members of National Assembly] gathering late on Tuesday night.

"Junejo has taken the big step to take control of the party," one MNA who attended the meeting remarked. "For Junejo to declare that PML would now determine

the policy is like telling the world that Mr. Nawaz Sharif was now a figurehead Prime Minister," an IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] back-bencher commented.

Even PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] was excited by the developments, and rightly so. Over 70 MNAs of IJI had attended the PML meeting despite attempts by the Nawaz Sharif loyalists to keep them away. Mr. Sharif and most of his key ministers did stay away but some who went in, tried to divert the agenda to "extraneous issues", as one MNA put it.

It was action galore inside the PML meeting as MNAs argued with each other, attacked the ministers, wept about their lack of importance and talked about the falling graph of the party's popularity.

IJI's ally from NWFP [North-West Frontier Province], Ajmal Khattak's ANP [Awami National Party], was so bitterly attacked and accused of obliterating the Muslim League from the province that political analysts thought it was almost impossible now for Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to keep the ANP in his coalition Government.

Mr. Junejo himself provided glimpses of leadership that PML backbenchers had been expecting from him for months. "The IJI has vanished from the political scene and Mr. Nawaz Sharif can at best be described as the President of Pir Fazle Haq's Jamiat Mashaikh and Fakhre Imam's independent Group that now remain part of IJI in theory.

"We have to take control of the party affairs as things have gone so bad, we cannot remain as silent spectators," Mr. Junejo told the PML members of National Assembly.

Secretary-General Iqbal Ahmed Khan repeatedly called the IJI as "PML parliamentary party" in the House. The distinction he was making at the briefing was meaningful and clear. Junejo and his men no longer want the IJI to last, meaning they are challenging the locus standi of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif who is leader of the House as head of the IJI. When there would be no IJI, what would he lead and that would pave the way for an in-house change of face.

An excited PDA front liner, Iftikhar Gilani sat in the company of IJI dissident Mian Zahid Sarfraz in the cafeteria and observed very seriously: "Mr. Junejo has now indicated the state of affairs with his party. If he does not move now to fill the vacuum created by this development, the entire system was under the threat of collapsing."

Zahid Sarfraz was in a mood of predictions, notably so after he has joined the Functional Muslim League of Pir Sahib of Pagara. "By October 15, the date when this session is to continue, the whole change has to take place. Otherwise powers outside the system would move in to fill the vacuum."

The changing mood within the IJI camp was reflected by the snap resignation of the Parliamentary Secretary

Ghulam Mohammad Tiwana on Tuesday when he almost "threw his resignation before Choudhry Nisar Ali Khan" after Nisar tried to argue with him over a statement he had made on the floor.

Tiwana rushed out of the House and the building and a bare-footed Information Minister, Abdus Sattar Lalika had to run after his car on the road outside to stop him. Lalika could barely manage to get into Tiwana's car but the damage had already been done.

What analysts were wondering in the galleries was how Mr. Junejo would move from this point, when over 70 PML MNAs had almost unanimously expressed their dissatisfaction in the working of the government and had tried to assert themselves as a party.

Gilani was arguing with reporters that if President Ghulam Ishaq Khan had "open ears and eyes" this was signal enough for him to ask Mr. Nawaz Sharif to seek a fresh vote of confidence in the House, a move that would put the industrialist and generous Prime Minister in a difficult phase of his political life.

The mood of the Upper House also reflects similar disappointment though the Senate is by and large a gathering of 'baba's men', rich in experience, senior in years, stronger in resolve. On Thursday they won a major legal and constitutional battle by extracting a ruling from the Chairman supporting their right to get a separate session of the House summoned, as requisitioned.

Chairman Wasim Sajjad could smell the explosives in the air if he had ruled otherwise but he cleverly wriggled out of a difficult situation by accommodating both the sides. He prorogued the session summoned by the government on Thursday and simultaneously summoned the one requisitioned by 30 senators on Saturday.

All the heavyweights in the National Assembly were by coincidence missing on Thursday. Benazir Bhutto was preparing for her Taxila speech in the evening, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi did not show up, Mohammed Khan Junejo was receiving the feedback of his momentous stand up meeting, Khar was absent, Asif Zardari and Aitzaz Ahsan were in Karachi, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was visiting Sindh along with many ministers and the Speaker had chosen to sit back in his chamber after a few minutes in the House.

But many were preparing to chalk out their strategies for another grand clash of the "titans" when PDA and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan would come face-to-face in the House, after the famous December 19 "No Baba, Go Baba" show last year.

The day would see a respected friend of Pakistan, Iranian President Akbar Hashmi Rafsanjani also in the Joint sitting of Parliament on September 7 and unless an agreement between PDA and President Ishaq Khan was hammered out, things could turn embarrassing. One would, some how, be.

MQM Termed 'Cultist', Viewed Negatively*92AS1547F Karachi DAWN in English 25 Aug 92 pp 11, 16*

[Article by Rifaat Hamid Ghani: "In the Mirror of MQM"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Cults are surrounded in mystery, and in that much of the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] was cultist, its origins are dark, and perhaps deliberately obscured. The organisation was esoteric. An inquirer could not get members or sympathisers to talk about it: they would always apply to the Markaz—first for permission to meet, and then for the answers.

The MQM grew to be synonymous with an entire community—and never moved beyond it. It was an explicitly urban phenomenon. The path that it chose, the manner and style of its evolution and advance, the way that it was used and lent itself to use, are of the deepest significance. Not just because of the MQM's own remarkable political and social impact, but as disclosing something deeper. The MQM story tells about ourselves and our masters. It exposes considerations and demonstrates methods. The story has a moral: we cannot purge the MQM unless we also purge ourselves.

The Mohajir subculture began to assert itself as a force, separate and bent upon recognition, in the mid-eighties when General Zia had driven legitimate political activity underground. Because normal expression was forbidden, much was undemonstrable or unverifiable. This gave the media the power to assert and virtually create political suppositions. It was a time of "statemental" politics and organisational personae. Amorphous associations proliferated, giving their adherents titular status, and a platform from which to issue statements. Several groupings with a Mohajir badge can be seen quoted in newspapers at the time.

The tacit understanding has always been that General Zia, or those who furthered his political machinations, were foster-parents to the embryo that grew into the MQM. Mr. Altaf Hussain—it is hard to think of him as once having been obscure—gained prominence as a champion of the Mohajir cause, and an organisation developed around him. Firmly, the various strands of Mohajir assertion were drawn together to coalesce under his banner of identity.

It is indicative of both its origin and intent, that though a strong political force, the MQM never could call itself a party. It was truly a particularised movement—of a particular community under very particular control. In order to maintain complete hold over a mass that could exert disproportionate leverage simply because of its concentrated urban presence, it was necessary to keep the movement apart from the political mainstream, owing unquestioning fealty to the cultist leader.

The manner of Mr. Altaf Hussain's emergence is interesting. Starting out as their spokesman and a champion of Mohajir rights, he became the navigator of their

course. His movement kept the humbler (and most appreciated) aspects of community service and social uplift in the fore as genuine objectives. Devoted 'Haq Parasts' surrendered to complete obedience to the Quaid-i-Tehrik in the guise of a unified discipline and steadfast loyalty required to further their collective interests. The style of his leadership was increasingly mesmerizing. Loved as Altaf Bhai, respected as a guide, he came to acquire the mystic standing of Pir. To question him was a punishable heresy.

The sincerity of the MQM's constituency and the legitimacy of its original motive force is a thing apart from the use that was made of it. The Svengalis of the MQM transposed the force of this commitment into serving purposes quite other than true Mohajir interest. The MQM became a tool of dissension in the hands of two successive Presidents, and the chief end to which it was used was to constrain the PPP [Pakistan People's party].

When Karachi's Mohajirs discovered their street power in the Bushra Zaidi episode in 1985, the Pathan transporter was the villain. But one kind of ethnic clash can lead to another. Ethnic polarity established itself in terms of Sindhi-Mohajir irreconcilability. The dreadful catalyst was that of massacres. Sohrab Goth and Qasba colony were traumatic: thereafter, just a handful of masked killers who sprayed bullets of death and fled, without ever being captured, would be enough to trigger a chain of angry frightened retaliations. They appeared most often in Sindhi and Mohajir ghettos.

This ethnic carnage created a climate that fostered Sindhi extremism as well as a Mohajir militancy. As much as the MQM was the child of an idealistic desire to improve a community's opportunities, it was the child of violence. It was motivated by fear and anger, no stranger to hatred; and it was easy for Mr. Altaf Hussain when he needed to crush dissent, to turn his militants inwards as well as outwards.

Ethnicity effectively embarrassed the PPP, creating a conflict between the thrust of its provincial and federal emphases. The urban centres of Sindh, with a Mohajir demography, began to assume an identity that was non-Sindhi and extra-provincial. The ethnic divide began to coincide with a rural-urban divide that expressed itself in political division.

In the local bodies polls of '87, 'Haq Parast' adherents captured Karachi and emerged as a strong factor in Hyderabad. The pattern was repeated in the post-Zia elections to the national and provincial assemblies. The importance of Karachi, chief metropolis and port, was unique. It is not surprising that Mr. Altaf Hussain lost his head. His phalanx of MNAs [members of National Assembly] assumed significance as a decisive bargaining factor in the tussle at the Centre between the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] and the PPP.

By then, the scourge of ethnic strife had become an agony for the people, and political leaders were under

considerable pressure to work towards some kind of mutual accommodation and containment of their volatile partisans. Good sense demanded that the MQM align itself with the PPP in the province, and it was a logical extension of this perception that MQM extend its support to the PPP at the Centre as well.

Karachi knew a period of calm, but only briefly. Whether ethnic riots and killing were instigated or simply happened to recommence is a moot point. Obviously, it was neither in the PPP's interest nor the MQM's to reactivate this strife. However, its reemergence did suit those who wished to discredit the PPP and alienate the MQM from its newly achieved understanding with it. The PPP should have made every effort to reassure the MQM and restrain its own belligerents; instead it reacted so as to increase general misgivings.

The provincial government made almost every possible blunder. An aggressive policy of Sindhi preferment, unchecked lawlessness on the part of undisciplined adherents, and bloody clashes—retaliatory or provocative depending on what became irretrievably polarised viewpoints—between supporters of the MQM and the PPP, paralysed civic life completely at times and destabilised the province. The MQM was treated most shabbily within the PA [Provincial Assembly].

Embittered, and with its back to the wall, it severed all links with the PPP. It soon moved into the IJI camp. Significantly, the rupture came at a particularly critical time for the PPP government at the Centre when it was facing a determined no-confidence move mounted by the IJI.

The MQM was indeed a PPP victim then, but the culpability of the IJI-led opposition, and Sindhi waderas of the Jatoli breed who sought to profit amid the exacerbation of provincial problems is enormous. The highly charged emotional background made the MQM's realignment understandable, but it took the form of a policy that benefited a leader and his henchmen, betraying the initial commitment to the electorate.

The Jam phase of politics in Sindh opened a new chapter for the MQM. It would have gone against feudal and other vested interests—the sort the fabulous Jam mastered and served—to allow the popular educated urban middle-class representation that had emerged with the MQM to function effectively. Diabolically, the leader of the MQM, its idolised Quaid-i-Tehrik, was used to frustrate and asphyxiate the positive aspects of the MQM.

The background of cultism had been provided perhaps for that very day. The popular base was used to fascist, not democratic, intent. But the tactics of hostage-taking, extortion, intimidation and torture that reached the nadir of sadism and terror in the MQM's torture cells matched tactics employed by the Jam-axis in Sindh generally.

Even as the torture cell indicts the MQM, it exonerates the Mohajir: dissent existed, but it never grew into an organised resistance or offered an open challenge. Perhaps the reason also is that a dissenting Mohajir had nowhere to go. Sindhis who took exception to Jam's methods could anchor themselves with the PPP. The MQM's followers had been cordoned off from the political mainstream. They had been in specific conflict with the PPP, and they could scarcely take complaints about Altaf Bhair to Jam or the IJI.

And within the Mohajir community itself, dissenters had no way of gauging the extent of disenchantment. At an unedifying pragmatic level, moral objection to Altaf Hussain's mode was an inconvenience. For those who were content to have him as king, the kingdom was theirs... There is a strong body of opinion that what is being perceived as moral dissent was largely a power struggle.

Is the Mohajir ready to acquiesce in anything in a leadership that invests the community with power, and changes him from a meek apologist into an individual who has recourse to an overwhelming clout? That may not be admirable, but the addiction to a vicarious power at any price, is no worse than the feudal lord's direct exercise of it and the oligarch's rapacious retention of it at any price.

Is the vassalage of the urban underdog that different from the serf's?

There is an important difference: the vassalage is rooted in a physical reality, one he was born into. The outlook that makes a vassal of the urban underdog is an acquired mentality: it sanctions fascism (if only to become its victim later), for on a certain sinister plane the interest of the leader and his mass following coincide. The serf's interest is always opposed to that of the feudal chief's.

Of course, a community's grievances and the response to large-scale urban deprivation does not have to take the fascist form. But when normal democratic channels are denied, political deviations become inevitable.

What the course of the MQM will be in the wake of the clean-up is chillingly indeterminate. The vehicle remains intact; the insecurities and grievances of Sindh's urbanites have probably heightened. Whether Altaf Hussain or his nominees keep the driver's seat despite opposition from their one-time sponsors; or whether those who created the myth of Altaf Hussain can find another legend to use the same way; or whether Mohajirs choose to create new options depends on several factors other than the Mohajir electorate. That is the reason too, why the excesses of the MQM cannot be isolated. They are rooted in for more than the movement.

That the MQM could resort to torture to rush dissent, is no more appalling than that this was allowed it by those who wished to keep the Altaf Hussain juggernaut intact this long. Perhaps, it only needed to be broken because it had become too big for easy handling.

The amorality of those who fan ethnic flames, and conjure up torture and have truck with the torturer is still to be neutralised. The MQM is a symptom, not the disease. Altaf Hussain could not have been what he was without Jam Sadiq Ali to help him...nor would Jam have operated as he did without some to value the results he guaranteed. And there is yet no objective sign of a reappraisal of policy.

Unless the spirit of Jam is well and truly exorcised, what we have already seen in Sindh may only be a pale shadow of what lies ahead.

Judicial Commission To Probe 1988 C-130 Crash
92AS1553A Lahore THE NATION in English 10 Aug 92
pp 1, 4

[Article: "Justice Shafiur Rehman to Chair the Commission; Judicial Commission Set Up To Probe C-130 Crash"]

[Text]

Decision Taken After Shujat Committee Report

Islamabad (APP) - Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has constituted a commission of inquiry headed by Mr. Justice Shafiur Rehman of the Supreme Court of Pakistan to enquire into the circumstances of the C-130 crash on August 17, 1988, near Bahawalpur, it was officially stated on Sunday.

Mr. Justice Sheikh Riaz Ahmad of the Lahore High Court, Mr. Justice Imam Ali G. Kazi of the Sindh High Court, will be the members of the commission.

The Prime Minister took this decision following the receipt of the report of a high-powered committee headed by Interior Minister Chaudhary Shujat Hussain on Sunday night.

The high-powered committee in its report observed that none of the investigations or inquiries launched by different agencies was able to unravel the mystery of what exactly caused the crash. Therefore, the committee recommended the appointment of a high-powered judicial commission of inquiry under the Pakistan Commission of Inquiry Act, 1956.

This recommendation of the committee also accords with the desire of the members of the family of late Gen. Mohammad Ziaul Haq, especially Ejazul Haq, Minister for Labour, and Senator Dr. Basharat Elahi (brother-in-law) of the late President had also made such recommendations.

The committee headed by Shujat Hussain was set up by the Prime Minister last year for the purpose of reviewing

the records of all investigations and inquiries undertaken so far and to submit its report after determining the directions of and basis for further enquiry.

In carrying out its task the committee examined the following enquiries and investigations before arriving at conclusion:

- a. The Pakistan Air Force's Board of Inquiry report.
- b. Report of U.S. technical assistance/advisory team.
- c. FBI investigation team's report.
- d. Report of joint investigation team headed by DG [Director General] FIA [Federal Investigation Agency].

The Interior Minister as Chairman of the committee also invited some relatives of General Mohammad Ziaul Haq, General Akhtar Abdur Rehman Khan and Brig. Siddique Salik, to come forward with any information or material that might assist the committee in its task.

While carrying out its deliberations the committee found that the report of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation had not been received in Pakistan. It accordingly contacted the U.S. embassy which procured and forwarded the said report in April 1992. This process was time consuming and occasioned some delay in preparation of final recommendations. The committee, however, felt it could not proceed to arrive at its conclusion in the absence of an important investigation report.

The terms of reference of the commission of inquiry appointed by the Prime Minister are:

- A. To enquire into the cause(s) of ill-fated C-130 crash on August 17, 1988.
- B. If it was an accident, what caused it, and the persons responsible for it?
- C. If it was an act of sabotage, then the exact nature of it, the manner in which it was caused, and the person(s) or organisation(s) responsible for it?
- D. The commission's recommendations thereon.

The commission will have all the powers under Section 5 and 10A of the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1956. The commission shall also be authorised to acquire the services of any persons or national/international investigative/intelligence agencies to unravel the mystery.

The commission will determine its own working procedure.

The Secretariat assistance for the commission shall be provided by the Interior Division. The commission shall submit its report within six months of the notification.

Benazir, Religious Impositions by Mullahs Viewed

Shariat Supremacy Questioned

92AS1483A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
12 Aug 92 p 1

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi: "Belief in Quran and Sunnah Reaffirmed; PDA Will Not Accept FSC (Federal Shariat Court) Supremacy: Benazir"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 11: Firmly adhering to her stand on the Federal Shariat Court, angry and agitated, Benazir Bhutto declared in the National Assembly on Tuesday that she would never be intimidated by the threats of self-styled Mullahs like Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi.

Speaking on the admissibility of a privilege motion sought to be moved by 26 PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] members against the statement of the Federal Religious Minister Abdus Sattar Niazi, who had called the Opposition leader as being kafir, she said that she believed in the supremacy of the Quran and Sunnah but she would not concede the supremacy of the Federal Shariat Court—a body which was created by a military dictator and consisted of hand picked people.

In the backdrop of the unprecedented pandemonium witnessed during the proceedings of the House on Monday, the National Assembly resumed its proceedings on Tuesday morning in a visibly tense atmosphere. At the outset of the proceedings the Deputy Leader of the PDA, Afzal Khan, invited the attention of Deputy Speaker Nawaz Khokar towards the privilege motion sought to be moved by a large number of his colleagues against the statement of the Federal Religious Minister, the Deputy Speaker informed him that the motion would be taken up for consideration on Wednesday.

Rising in her seat, the leader of the Opposition, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, sought the permission of the Speaker to make a statement.

Referring to the accusation made against her by the Religious Minister and his party, she said that the PDA would never be daunted by the Maulanas like Abdus Sattar Niazi who believed in selling Fatwas. She said such were the Mullahs who once accused the Father of the Nation of being Kafir-e-Azam and vehemently opposed the Pakistan Movement. Sattar Niazi, she said, himself had proved that he did not believe in the Quran and Sunnah and instead he believed in the supremacy of the Shariat Court which comprises hand-picked men and was founded by dictator Ziaul Haq. This, she said, was the court which was meant to give its judgements according to the will of the dictator.

"I am the daughter of a man who devoted his life for the unity of the entire Muslim world and gave the country an Islamic Constitution," she said.

Ms. Bhutto declared that she was the follower of Hazrat Zainab, Hazrat Khudeja and Hazrat Fatima and as such

she would continue to follow their traditions. She opposed the dictatorship and arbitrary government.

She said, "Mullahs had issued Fatwas of Kufr" about various Muslim leaders but the people were never misled by them. "As a Muslim, I believe in the supremacy of Holy Quran and Sunnah," she declared.

She said, the issue was being used "to kill and murder the leader of the Opposition and I am prepared to accept Shahadat."

She said she did not believe "in the Islam of Maullahs" but believed in "an enlightened Islam."

"I have done more for Islam than Maulana Niazi," she declared, and urged that the Maulana should repent and seek Allah's forgiveness.

During her address to the House, the Federal Religious Minister stood up twice to intervene but he was not allowed by the Deputy Speaker. Later the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Deputy Leader Farooq Leghari insisted that the privilege motion moved by the PDA should be taken up but the Chair said that the motion would be taken up tomorrow.

Later addressing a largely-attended Press conference in the National Assembly cafeteria along with other PDA leaders who staged a walkout the PPP Co-Chairperson said that as a Muslim she firmly believes in the Quran and Sunnah and the member who accused her of being Kafir was himself a non-believer. Reiterating that she did not believe in the supremacy of the Shariat Court the Opposition leader accused the government of exploiting the name of Islam for personal ends. Every true Muslim, she said, was aware that these Mullahs have no monopoly of the religion. She said the government by indulging in such activities was trying to divert the attention of the people from important issues. She said the government was nervous of the public meeting being organised by the PDA on August 14 in Lahore. She said that the people know that their rulers have up to what extent of love for the religion, country and for the Father of the Nation. They only love the money and perpetuation of their power.

"He (Maulana Niazi) is anti-Islam and anti-Pakistan." She also alleged that Maulana Niazi had shaved his head "in order not be recognised."

Ms. Benazir Bhutto said "the minister as a member of the Cabinet has made the entire cabinet responsible for his statement."

The Opposition leader accused the government of making the lives of the poor miserable by raising the prices of atta, sugar, ghee and other commodities.

The PDA leaders Afzal Khan and Farooq Leghari also addressed the press conference.

Afzal Khan while describing the accusation made by the Federal Religious Minister as serious termed it an attempt to incite the people for violence.

Farooq Leghari and Ch Aitzaz Ahsan said that Abdus Sattar Niazi by accusing the Opposition leader who represent the majority of the people of Pakistan of being Kafir has brought the Mullahs and the people on confrontation path. They expressed the hope that the sane and true religious leaders and scholars would realise the dangerous game being played by these self-professed contractors of the religion and would frustrate their conspiracies.

Niazi Denies Becoming Critical

92AS1483B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12 Aug 92 p 1

[Article by Aroosa Alam: "Niazi Denies Calling PPP Leader 'Kafir'"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 11: PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] members staged a walk-out from the National Assembly Tuesday after the leader Ms. Benazir Bhutto had made a statement in the House strongly criticising the Religious Affairs Minister who dubbed her as 'Kafir'.

Sardar Farooq Leghari, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, tried to stand up on a point of order but when the floor was given to Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi, Opposition staged the walk-out.

Outside the Assembly Hall, the PDA leaders justified their walk-out saying that it was in protest against not allowing them to move a privilege motion against PTV [Pakistan Television] and Maulana Niazi. Before the statement of the leader of the Opposition, the Deputy Speaker had already told the House that the said privilege motion would be taken up tomorrow.

Maulana Niazi instead of levelling criticism and using harsh language replied to the criticism of the leader of the Opposition in a sober tone. He said he never used the word 'Kafir' for Ms. Benazir Bhutto nor did he say that she was liable to death. He said he had only condemned the remarks of the leader of the Opposition that she does not accept the supremacy of Shariah. However, he said, the Shariah Committee which met under his chairmanship on Saturday, had described her comments as 'Kalima-e Kufr' (blasphemy). He said Islam is state religion and nothing against Islam would be accepted. Those violating the sanctity of Islam are bound to be tried on charges of high treason.

The Minister said he wanted to see the leader of the Opposition on the right path of Islam.

The Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Mian Abdus Sattar Lalika objected to certain remarks of the leader of the Opposition about Maulana Niazi but was told that those remarks had already been expunged. The Minister said that as president of Muslim Students

Federation Maulana Niazi had rendered great services for independence movement.

Liaquat Baluch of JI [Jamaat-i-Islami] objected to the language used in the House about religious personalities and supremacy of the Quran and Sunnah. He was of the view that the Treasury benches were not serious enough for smooth running of the business of the House. He said the Information Minister could have dealt the matter yesterday regarding the statement of Maulana Niazi over TV technically rather than expressing strong sentiments.

Solidarity Leader Critical

92AS1483C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12 Aug 92 p 3

[Article: "Govt Doing Disservice to Islam"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 11: Chairman Pakistan Solidarity Front Naveed Malik, commenting on the Fatwa of Kufr against the Leader of the Opposition Benazir Bhutto by Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi, has said that the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government was using the issue to divert the attention of the people from their objectionable activities.

Addressing a press conference at the cafeteria of the Parliament House here Tuesday, he said what happened in the name of Islam on Monday was a great disservice to the cause of Islam. He said Maulana Niazi was being used as a sandbag by those who created the IJI. He said such people wanted to use the name of Islam to create fanaticism in order to divert the attention of the people from the real issues.

He accused the government of abetting Altaf Hussain in the creation of Jinnahpur or Urdu Desh so that Altaf could sort out the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and Benazir Bhutto.

Kashmir Leader Condemns Niazi

92AS1483D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12 Aug 92 p 3

[Article: "No Shortage of Fatwa-Giving Maulanas"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 11: Former President and Speaker of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly, Sahibzada Ishaq Zafar, Tuesday condemned the statement of Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi, Federal Minister for Religious Affairs, in which he had described Benazir Bhutto as a non-Muslim. The Kashmiri leader said those who call other Muslims non-Muslims are themselves non-Muslims.

The leader of the Azad Kashmir People's Party, who spoke to the press in his capacity as the Sajjada Nasheen of Darbar-i-Alia Banni Hafiz Sharif, which is in the Hattian Walla sub-division of Muzaffarabad, said there was no shortage of Fatwa-giving Maulanas who had even described the Quaid-i-Azam and Allama Iqbal as non-Muslims. He reminded that 313 Maulvis had issued a

Fatwa against Z. A. Bhutto but the people of Pakistan voted for him proving him a good Muslim.

Sahibzada Ishaq Zafar said the Federal Minister should not have made such a statement in the National Assembly especially when the country was going through a national crisis.

He said Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi has not married which is a violation of the Holy Prophet's (PBUH) [Peace Be Upon Him] way of life. The Kashmiri leader quoted a Hadith in which the Holy Prophet (PBUH) had said that those who do not get married are not "from amongst us."

PPP Lashes Out

92AS1483E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12 Aug 92 p 4

[Article: "PPP Leaders Lash Out at Maulana Niazi"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Karachi, Aug 11: Leaders of Pakistan People's Party [PPP] have strongly condemned the Federal Minister for Religious Affairs Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi for declaring their Co-Chairperson and the leader of the Opposition Ms. Benazir Bhutto as "Kafir" and described it an attempt of maligning the party at the behest of some vested interests.

Taking a strong note of the Minister's so-called edict, they said that whatever remarks passed by him against their leader gives an indication that a deep rooted conspiracy had been hatched against the PPP and its leaders.

Talking to THE MUSLIM, General Secretary of PPP, Sindh, Iqbal Yousuf said they will not tolerate such foolish and childish behaviour of the 'maulvi' at the august house of the country and added that the Minister will have to pay a big price for such nasty remarks uttered by him first at a meeting and then on the floor of the National Assembly.

He said the Minister's remarks had sent a wave of anger not only among the PPP workers and leaders but the saner elements of the country too have taken a strong note of his un-called for remarks against a pious and honest leader of the country.

The PPP leader disclosed that the emergency meeting of PPP, Karachi division will be held here tomorrow (Aug 12) under the chairmanship of Sindh PPP Chief Qaim Ali Shah. The meeting besides discussing about the un-called for remarks of the minister will also take decisions with regard to countering the propaganda of the minister.

Meanwhile, Secretary Information, PPP, Karachi division, Ishaq Sethi also criticised the Minister for passing disgraceful remarks against the leader of the Opposition.

He said it was astonishing to note that the minister who called himself 'maulana' did not even know that in Islam it was forbidden that one should not declare even an infidel as infidel as nobody knows that what status he may be enjoying in the eyes of the Almighty Allah.

Allama Kararvi Opposes Niazi

92AS1483F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12 Aug 92 p 4

[Article: "Kararvi Condemns Niazi's Fatwa"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 11: Allama Ali Ghazanfar Kararvi, Chief Organiser and Hizbe Jihad has said that there is a consensus of the Muslim Ummah that sacrilegious remarks against the Holy Prophet (PBUH) [Peace Be Upon Him] is Irtebad and according to Shariah Murtad is Wajibul Qatal (liable to death).

In a statement here Tuesday, he said, if a Muslim makes any remarks against the express dictates of the Quran and Sunnah he is either traitor or quite ignorant of the Islamic laws.

Allama Kararvi condemned the "Fatwa" issued by Maulana Sattar Khan Niazi, Federal Minister for Religious Affairs, wherein he tries to save what he called the un-Islamic government of the Islamic country.

He said that Maulana Niazi and Jamaat-e-Islami bore the responsibility of committing such Irtebad when they acknowledged the supremacy of parliament over the Shariah through an act of parliament.

Allama Kararvi asked the Maulana that what sort of "Fatwa" should be issued against that parliament which had dropped the proposed bill declaring death sentence against sacrilegizing the name of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) from the proceedings of parliament. He condemned the silence of the Ulema in this respect.

Allama Kararvi said "as Maulana Niazi is one of the senior and important leaders of Pakistan Movement and Tehrik Khatme Nabuwat so he should act according to his status. It will enhance his respect, if he resigns from his present assignment."

It was a matter of shame to work with a government, which according to him, was violating "Haddoodullah" following the noble example of Hazrat Hur Riyahi, Maulana Niazi should uphold the great tradition of the martyrs of Karbla, he added.

Lakhvi Opposes Secularism

92AS1483G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12 Aug 92 p 5

[Article: "Ulema Will Never Allow Secularism: Lakhvi"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 11: Mueenud-Din Lakhvi, MNA [member of National Assembly] Tuesday strongly criticised the opposition leader Ms. Benazir Bhutto for

opposing supremacy of Shariat and warned that the Ulema would frustrate all attempts to block the process.

In a statement issued here, he made it clear to the Co-Chairperson of PPP [Pakistan People's Party] that the Ulema would never allow her to realise her goal of secularism and "ladeeniat."

The Ulema, he said, were determined to continue their struggle for enforcement of Islamic system and they would not deviate from their righteous struggle, even if "she exhausted vocabulary of invectives in her dictionary against them."

The PPP Co-Chairperson was in fact angry over the introduction of Islamic system in the country because if Islam is enforced then she will be first one to pack up from political field and go home, he added.

He said the Holy Quran enjoins upon women-folk to stay within the precincts of home and observe "purdah," and avoid public exposure.

Sometimes she terms the injunctions of the Holy Quranic law and Hudoods as repressive and at other times, she rejects the Quran as the supreme law, and her wrath finally boils down on the Ulema, he added.

He said the Ulema wanted to make it clear to Ms. Benazir Bhutto that they were conscious and will continue their struggle for the implementation of the Islamic law and all costs. "Neither your father nor your mother or yourself were able to divert from their cherished goal of Islamisation.

The righteous Ulema, will continue to frustrate all such efforts," he added.—APP

Editorial Criticizes Ulema

92AS1483H Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
12 Aug 92 p 6

[Article: "This Pontification Could Be Drift Into Disaster"]

[Text] For more than an hour, bedlam prevailed in the National Assembly on Monday and it now seems only a merciful Providence prevented members of the ruling party and the opposition coming to blows. By now we should have become inured to impetuous behaviour in the House. Therefore, what was witnessed on Monday should hardly have caused any surprise among those of us who follow the proceedings of the Assembly. It would be entirely accurate to say that the only reaction provoked was one of distaste. The furore started when the Deputy Leader of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], Sardar Farooq Leghari raised a point of privilege against a statement of the Federal Minister for Religious Affairs which was telecast by the Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV) in its main national news bulletin. In his statement, the Maulana had bluntly dubbed the leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly, Ms. Benazir Bhutto a Kafir (non-believer or infidel) for her opposition to the amendment suggested by the Treasury

Benches, in the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) and the Code of Criminal Procedure (Cr PC), which proposed the death sentence for defiling the name of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) [Peace Be Upon Him]. Ms. Bhutto had also allegedly criticised the government initiative to amend the constitution to declare the Quran and Sunnah as the supreme law of the land. Mr. Leghari vehemently challenged the right of the minister to issue a Fatwa against the opposition leader.

The fury of the Treasury Benches and the Opposition members continued unabated against each other till the Azan was heard and the Deputy Speaker was relieved to adjourn the House till Tuesday. Some sections of the press have reported that the Treasury Benches also looked with intense disfavour on any suggestion of foisting a theocracy on Pakistan. In view of this, since all Ms. Bhutto had done was to voice opposition to such an eventuality, it is difficult to understand what prompted the loud-mouthed Maulana of Religious Affairs to issue his edict against the good lady and, of course, provoke the reactions of understandable outrage in the House. Never once has Ms. Bhutto spoken against the Quran and Sunnah. All she has objected to are the attempts by a class of self-appointed clergy of unproven credentials to become absolute Islamisers of Pakistan in the style of late martial law ruler, Gen Zia. Ms. Bhutto's observations reflect the concern of the majority of Pakistan's enlightened citizens and most certainly do not in any manner smack of heresy. It has to be borne in mind at all times that no Muslim, of whatever persuasion, would even think of expressing any opinion derogatory to the Quran, the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and the Sunnah.

For quite some time now, ulema of different schools of thought have been in the habit of giving Fatwas at the drop of a pin, mostly declaring one person or another a Kafir. This is an extremely dangerous tendency which has to be eliminated before it is too late. People who declare other Muslims as Kafirs are, sadly enough, suffering from some form of theomania or fanaticism totally negating the spirit of Islamic tolerance. People who suffer from such ailments should be taken seriously only to the extent that making of such statements by them is made punishable under the law. If a mullacracy were to be established, it is doubtful whether any but these types would rule the country. And what are their qualifications and attainments? Any government to be run exclusively by the clergy answerable to no one on this side of the grave would be a pretty kettle of fish. We have had more than enough harrowing evidence that there is no hope of ulema of any two schools of thought in the country, would ever agree on anything. Adopting this course we would assuredly end up with blood-dripping anarchy. We are going through a very difficult phase in our short history and it is the bounden duty of all sane persons to guard against anything which could spell wholly avoidable doom for the country.

Benazir Rebuts Obscurantists

92AS14831 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12 Aug 92 p 12

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: "Benazir Puts 'Fatwa Givers' on the Mat"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] led by Benazir Bhutto, Leader of the Opposition, dominated the proceedings of the House Tuesday morning as she mounted a frontal attack on rank obscurantism epitomised by Minister for Religious Affairs Abdus Sattar Niazi who dubbed the leader of the opposition as 'Kafir' and worthy of being put to death because she had criticised the role of the Federal Shariat Court.

The opposition was up in arms and displayed a fighting spirit against the tendency on the part of certain elements like Abdus Sattar Niazi to dub those who speak with rationality and logic as infidels because they cannot counter them with reason.

As usual Benazir Bhutto stung by the illogical remarks of the honourable Minister was her true self—crusading, fighting against heavy odds and sharp-witted. She made it clear she could not be cowed down by Fatwas. "I believe in the supremacy of Quran and Sunnah. The Maulana should tell us if he believes in the Supremacy of Quran and Sunnah", she shouted in pin-drop silence in the House as the packed to capacity galleries listened to her with rapt attention. No Muslim, she said, can be a liar but the Maulana lied. The leader of the opposition spoke with passion and firmness to rebut the accusations of the Maulana. The opposition clapped their hands after every sentence she spoke. And then she drew the inference from the pronouncements made by the Maulana that the leader of the House was a party in the abetment of a cognisable offence against her.

This was reference to the Maulana's statement to the press on Monday that since the leader of the opposition had committed heresy by her remarks against Shariah, she could be put to death. Benazir Bhutto came heavily against the Federal Shariat Court saying the law of God could not be made subservient to the Shariat Court's whims. Said she: "I don't accept the supremacy of the Federal Shariat Court as a legislative body." The BB [Benazir Bhutto] traced the history of Fatwas saying that the Maulanas had not even spared the Father of the Nation Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the poet-philosopher Allama Iqbal.

Benazir Bhutto said the Maulanas had dubbed even such illustrious sons of Islam as infidels. She recalled that the ulema had assembled on one platform in the past against her father and had issued an edict of Kufr against him but he triumphed in the elections amidst great fanfare and "he was the man who gave to this nation an Islamic Constitution and was responsible for holding the first Islamic conference."

Benazir Bhutto was again in her best form today and repulsed the attack of the obscurantists with ferocity but with logic and hard facts. She saw the latest attack on her by the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government as the last ditch move by the ruling party to distract popular attention from the morass of problems they had been thrown into. "The IJI regime's fortunes are fast dwindling" she said. She said the PDA stood for enlightened Islam.

At the end of her speech she got a resounding approbation for her daring remarks. The opposition staged a walkout when Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi was given the floor. The newsmen en bloc rushed to see BB downstairs in the cafeteria where the PDA leaders addressed a hurried press conference.

The BB confined herself to elaborating what she had earlier stated on the floor of the House. MNAs [members of National Assembly] Farooq Leghari, Aitzaz Ahsan and Mohammad Afzal Khan spelt out implications of the Maulana's remarks. Leghari's contention was that the entire cabinet had backed the Maulana in his offensive remarks and it implied that it was an attempt to bolster the image of the Prime Minister whose fortunes were fast sliding down. His second point was that the Federal Shariat Court could not be treated as the arbiters of Islam and had no right to legislate.

Ch Aitzaz Ahsan, who spoke on the legal implications of the fatwa given by Maulana Niazi, had no hesitation in saying that the fatwa is a cognisable offence and incitement to violence against the leader of Opposition. His opinion was that the police should take suo moto notice of it. He said if any harm came to Benazir Bhutto, the whole nation would go mad. He thought there was more to the Maulana's statement than appeared on the surface. The fatwa against the BB, he said, had been given at the behest of the President and Prime Minister.

The cool-minded Syed Iftikhar Hussain Gillani commenting on the present situation said that hiding behind non-issues was a tragedy. In Islam, he said, there was no institution of Papacy. In the cafeteria, the legislators and politicians wondered as to why this moment has been chosen by the IJI Government to attack the opposition leader on non-issues. Many thought it was an attempt to distract the people's attention from the pressing problems faced by the government. There is an infighting going on in the ruling party's factions, some said.

The quorum syndrome haunted the National Assembly again on Tuesday. Lack of quorum was pointed out four times. And when it was pointed out at around 1 pm [as published] for the fourth time, the Chair had to adjourn the House until tomorrow. It is a sad commentary on the present government that it cannot ensure quorum in the House despite its claims of having an overwhelming majority in the House.

How the ISI [Inter-Service Intelligence] tapes got released? This was another question being asked by the

legislators in the cafeteria. Some thought it as a significant matter. The whereabouts of Shahbaz Sharif were also the subject matter of conversation in the cafeteria. Why is he keeping behind the veil these days? Another confrontation is to take place in the House tomorrow when the privilege motion against the remarks of Maulana Niazi comes up for debate.

Government Blamed for Sectarian Violence

92AS1547H Karachi DAWN in English 27 Aug 92 p 7

[Editorial: "Sectarian Violence Again"]

[Text] Hardly had the tragic memories of some recent incidents faded when a fresh bout of sectarian violence in Gilgit on Monday left seven people dead and 21 wounded. It was triggered by what the Minister of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas, speaking about the occurrence in the National Assembly [NA], called "unknown killers" who opened fire on two motor-cyclists, killing one of them and injuring the other seriously. Thereafter, factions of the two sects resorted to indiscriminate firing. Although arrests have been made and the city has been handed over to the army to restore peace and order, tension is still high. Only some months ago, Gilgit was in the grip of bloody sectarian violence which claimed about a dozen lives. That tragic outbreak was sparked by the cold-blooded murder of a leader of a politico-religious organisation in Lahore.

Repeated eruptions in Jhang have left some of the most painful memories to nurse. Some of the worst sectarian incidents took place in Peshawar during Muharram, resulting in several deaths and imposition of curfew. From the pattern of violence and the circumstances surrounding it, it seems that even a minor scuffle can set off a chain reaction in an atmosphere rife with intolerance, fanaticism and blind antagonism. The same day that Gilgit was rent by sectarian clashes, a worker of a politico-religious organisation was killed in Shorkot, District Jhang, threatening to unleash a fresh cycle of violence and bloodshed. Clashes in Gilgit started immediately after the news of the motor-cyclists' killing had spread.

Sectarian violence on the scale it has been happening in Pakistan, as also the failure of the government to root it out, underscores the susceptibility of elements on either side of the sectarian divide to propaganda and manipulation by the forces of bigotry and purveyors of religious hatred. However, by far the most alarming aspect of the recurrent pattern is the element of planning and premeditation that seems to have gone into the triggering of a number of unfortunate incidents. At least, this is what is immediately suggested by the origins and unfolding of the syndrome of violence in Gilgit and Jhang and the firing in Peshawar during the Muharram. Of course, seething hostility and bitterness play a strong role in inflaming passions. But it is true at the same time that sectarian violence is not always the outcome of a

momentary surge of temper or emotions. Certain elements, as if to keep the sectarian pot on the boil, are deliberately trying to fuel passions and hatred that can only lead to the sort of tragedies that we have witnessed again and again recently. Provocative slogans have been found inscribed on walls of certain cities before the outbreak of sectarian violence.

It is observations of this kind that underscore the responsibility of the administration and the ruling circles whose duty it is not only to prevent an impending outbreak but tackle the roots of the problem. During last Monday's Gilgit incident, for example, elements on both sides used firearms freely—meaning that perhaps no serious effort was made to mop up illegal arms and plug their sources of supply, a task which deserved special attention after the previous bout of sectarian violence there. Strong vigil and efficient intelligence work are essential to forestall occurrences of this kind. Equally important is to punish the proven guilty. Given the seriousness of the issue, a major initiative is called for to get to grips with the problem. No less important is the role of the ulema and the leaders of both the sects in keeping the militants in check and bringing home the realisation that sectarianism, if allowed to remain uncontained, will tear the fabric of society asunder and expose the country to grave dangers of violence and strife.

Factors in Rise of Religious Extremism Viewed

92AS1547D Lahore THE NATION in English 26 Aug 92 p 5

[Article by Abbas Rashid: "Religio-Political Extremism"; italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Federal Minister for Religious Affairs, Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi, created a furore among the ranks of the Opposition in the Assembly by pronouncing a *fatwa* of *kufir* on the Leader of the Opposition, Benazir Bhutto. The latter in the course of a public address had declared that she did not accept the Federal Shariat Court's (FSC) as superseding the Constitution. Later, Maulana Niazi 'retracted' saying that he had understood Benazir to have challenged the supremacy of the Quran and Sunnah. Only the good Maulana can enlighten us as to how he managed this misunderstanding but meanwhile according to a Press report he outlined an ominous course of action when asked whether she ought to be killed now that she had been pronounced a *kafir*. "No," the Maulana replied, "she has two or three days to repent and beg forgiveness. The government can try her and once we acquire powers under the law, we could sentence her to death." It remains to be seen how much harm incitements such as these can do to a person of Benazir's stature but there is no doubt that such politically-motivated targeting of opponents on so-called religious grounds is contributing in large measure to the environment of extreme intolerance, prejudice and heightened sectarian tensions. Among other things such pronouncements, and that too by the Minister for Religious Affairs, are virtually an

open invitation to those often least capable of judgment in such matters, to take the law into their own hands. As it is recently a Christian-convert was killed by his fellow prison inmates. Earlier this year in Faisalabad a college student killed a school teacher, allegedly guilty of blaspheming against the Prophet (PBUH) [Peace Be Upon Him], in front of scores of people. Increasingly, there are fewer checks on the tendency to accuse others of blaspheming or desecrating objects of religious veneration such as the Mosque or copies of the Holy Quran and then proceed to dispense 'lynch' justice: This pattern was repeated with tragic consequences last month in Peshawar. On the tenth of Moharram more than a dozen people were killed and nearly fifty injured. The Shias, among other things, were accused of burning copies of the Holy Quran. There is in all this an element of pathological eagerness to believe the worst about each other. Quite apart from the question of who should decide what the appropriate punishment for such a crime is or ought to be how can people of any sect in significant numbers believe that sane Muslims of whatever persuasion sit around and burn copies of the Holy Quran and then proceed to go on a rampage against the supposedly offending sect?

But there it is, unfortunately. The *kufi* syndrome is not limited to Maulana Niazi alone. The Anjuman Sipah-e-Sahaba (ASS) has made of it something akin to a corner-stone of its politics. Consider a translated excerpt from an ASS pamphlet carried in the recent issue of an English weekly from Lahore: "Anyone who marries a Shia, eats an animal butchered by them, participates in their *namaz-e-janaza*, participates in their annual Eid sacrifices, makes them witnesses in one's marriage, eats with them, offers prayers in their mosques or has any kind of social contact with them" is a *kafir*. Incidentally, the pamphlet is titled "Why are Shias not Muslims?" The tract is the work of a gentleman by the name of Maulana Qazi Mazhar Hussain who may or may not be any relation to Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar who used to be a leading figure among the Ahrar and to whom is attributed the authorship of the couplet:

*Ik kafira ke waste Islam ko chhora
yeh Quaid-i-Azam hai keh hai kafir-e-azam*

But then the views of such gentlemen regarding Jinnah and what he stood for are well known and there is no need to belabour the point. What should concentrate our minds is the fact that despite its creed of intolerance, extremism and violence the ASS has swept the recent by-elections in Jhang and got its men elected on both the National Assembly as well as the Provincial Assembly seat. And there is little doubt that its influence is increasing in other parts of the Punjab and now perhaps the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] as well.

One reason for the success of this brand of religio-politics lies in the vacuum created as a result of the double game played by the secular elements who have for the most part retained power in this country whether under a military or civilian guise. Not as a consequence,

for the most part, of free and fair general elections. Take the example of the incumbent Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Eager to prove his modernist credentials, he declares on national Television that "I am not a fundamentalist." And yet his government pushes through the Shariat Bill. And now we are told that preparations are underway to make the Shariat supreme through further legislation. As if more laws could guarantee the supremacy of the Shariat or reverse the process of complete breakdown of our structure of values and code of conduct in a society awash with consumerism and corruption—after more than a decade of Gen Ziaul Haq's "Islamisation" to say nothing of the "success" of those who claim to be his heirs. It is ironic indeed that speaking on the death anniversary of Gen Zia, the man whose policies most directly contributed to the formation of the Anjuman Sipah-e-Sahaba (during his rule) Mian Nawaz Sharif was distracted by members of ASS shouting anti-Shia slogans. It is doubly ironic that while identifying with his mentor Nawaz Sharif should ask them to shun such differences on the basis of sect. But then this is a pattern. While the Chief Minister Punjab, Mr. Wyne, is assiduously wooing the 'ulema and mashaikh' Sardar Assef Ali the Minister of State for Economic Affairs and Planning, is directed to project the secular face of the IJI. While the Minister of Religious Affairs threatens the Leader of the Opposition for questioning the authority of the Federal Shariat [FSC] Court the government itself has gone into appeal against the verdict of the FSC on the issue of Interest. The phenomenon is not particularly new. Mr. Daultana as Chief Minister Punjab was quite content to turn the anti-Ahmadiyya movement in 1953 to his advantage despite his impeccable secular credentials. The truth of the matter is that rank opportunism and cultural alienation or otherwise power without legitimacy has often meant that politico-religious elements have been employed by the secularists and liberals or those who are wont to declare that they are not "fundamentalist" in order to acquire or to hold on to power. Over time, then, it becomes a question of who is using whom.

Mr. Iftikhar Gilani who spoke in response to Maulana Niazi's pronouncements said that the Mullahs will not be allowed to create a Vatican in Pakistan and that there will be no Pope and that the Mullah shall not be allowed to take over the power of God. Stirring words these and perfectly in harmony with the spirit of Islam. But rhetoric alone will not check the expanding domain of religio-political extremism. Among other things the alternative model acknowledging the place of religion in people's lives will have to actually deliver on the secular or worldly aspects of existence.

Government Ban on Sectarian Organizations Attacked

92AS1548B Karachi DAWN in English 28 Aug 92 p 11

[Editorial: "Ethnicity and Sectarianism"]

[Text] Is the government seriously considering a ban on ethnic and sectarian organisations or was the Prime Minister merely indulging in some loud thinking when

he referred to this possibility in Karachi on Wednesday? His denunciation of such organisations makes his own feelings in the matter pretty clear but it does not reveal the real intentions of his government. The gap between the rhetoric which pours forth from the founts of power and what is actually done is so wide that it has become difficult to take any statement of intent at face value. Anyhow, if the government is seriously considering some action against ethnic and sectarian organisations, it would do well to draw a distinction between ethnicity and sectarianism.

However undesirable appeals to ethnicity may be, it is difficult for the state to eliminate ethnic politics by decree or to create unity and homogeneity by legislation. If things were that simple, East Pakistan would not have broken away from us twenty odd years ago, nor would Yugoslavia today be splitting at the seams. The sharp edges of ethnic differences are tempered and smoothed through political and economic inter-action. If the federation pursues policies that are wise and that do not create ill-will among its various components, it need fear nothing from a display of pride in ethnic distinctiveness. Consider, in this context, the example of Sindh where certain politicians have been propagating the virtues of separatism for a long time. Far from receiving any encouragement from the people of Sindh, they have been trounced at every election in the recent past. Or take Balochistan where nationalist feelings ran high at one time but which today, thanks to the benign pull of social and economic factors, is as much integrated with the rest of the country as any of its other parts. Pakistan is a mosaic of people with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds (to pretend otherwise is to shut one's eyes to reality). But if the strands of different languages and cultures have been woven into a fabric of national unity it is because of a shared historical journey. Artificial attempts at unity or at obliterating ethnic differences are counter-productive, if anything. They have not served as well in the past; they are not likely to do so in the future. The people of this country have made a better job of national unity than the state. They need no instruction in the subject. On the contrary, those who are in the political arena, whether in the government or in the opposition, should conduct themselves better and should try to raise the level of their political discourse. If they do so, national unity will take care of itself.

It is, of course, another matter if a particular organisation is guilty of the kind of excesses of which the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] is today being accused by its former allies and partners. Or, likewise, if the Jiye Sindh is considered guilty of acting against the interests of the state. In that case it must be dealt with firmly in accordance with the law. There can be no two opinions on this score. But it is worth remembering that a government which hobnobs with ethnic organisations one day only to rail at them the next risks having a massive problem of credibility on its hands. When an organisation is guilty of committing violent acts, it must be dealt with immediately. Not when the sands of political expediency run out.

Sectarian organisations, however, fall into a different category altogether. They are responsible for spreading the worst sort of poison and the most virulent kinds of hatred in society. Any sectarian organisation that spreads religious intolerance and passes sentences of excommunication against votaries of other sects deserves to be shown no leniency. The cancer of religious intolerance has already spread to a dangerous extent in Pakistan. Effective steps must now be taken to check its further growth. Even so, we should remember that much of the sectarian passion filling the atmosphere today owes its origins to the religious rhetoric of the eighties which encouraged the leaders of some sects and bred in others a feeling of insecurity. When political leaders themselves pander to the sentiments of the most mindless lobbies, they can scarcely expect the display of good sense from anyone else.

Government Ban on Sectarian Organizations Attacked

92AS1533C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 28 Aug 92 p 4

[Editorial: "A Ban on Sectarian Organizations While Ignoring Racist Parties?"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, while addressing 15th Exports Awards banquet of the National Corporation of Trade and Commerce, announced that a bill be introduced in the National Assembly for banning sectarian parties. He said that: "Those who spread communal hatred are friends neither of Islam nor of Pakistan; they are enemies of Islam and Pakistan." People belonging to all regions, races, and religions took part in establishing Pakistan. No one considered himself Punjabi, Pushtoon, Bengali, Bihari, Sindhi, Balochi, Sunni, Shia, or of a specific region when they were fighting for Pakistan. It was the common goal of all the Muslims in the subcontinent to establish a separate identity from the Hindus. Unfortunately, after Pakistan was established, all of us in general and the enemies of Pakistan in particular, have divided this one nation into various sectarian, racial, communal, and religious groups, and have hurt the goals for which Pakistan was established, and destroyed the unity of the nation.

The people who supported the one-nation theory opposed to Muslim League's two-nation proposal, and opposed the division of this subcontinent calling the Hindus and the Muslims one group, have stubbornly refused to accept the Pakistanis as a group of people who are one nation and who believe in one Allah, one Book, one faith. Instead, they have been busy causing unrest in Pakistan by preaching about four or five different groups living here. Various regional, state, racial, and communal organizations emerged in their wake. All of this has destroyed the unity of our nation. We cannot deny the fact that if the Muslims of the subcontinent had been divided into various sects and had not elected Quaid-i Azam Jinnah their one and only leader in 1946, then

Pakistan would never have been established. The Muslims of the subcontinents ignored these people and organizations and supported the Muslim League and the teachings of Quaid-i Azam. In a short time, the largest Muslim nation in the world was thus created. Unfortunately, the Muslim League suffered from internal strife soon after the independence and did not give ideological leadership to the nation because of its occupation with the game of power. It opened the doors for the people who were totally opposed to the doctrine on which Pakistan was established. Thus, our nation became a victim of ideological polarization within the short period of 25 years, and this is paving the way for further divisions of our country. Had the nation remained united and not involved in regional, communal, and racial fighting, no one would have dared to pave the way for the division of this nation of people, who believed in but one goal, by raising superfluous slogans and making false promises.

East Pakistan was separated and we did not pay any attention and ignored this feeling of deprivation and India's actions, and got busy with the present efforts that have resulted in this situation. India did many evil things as our enemy, however, it was us who provided it with the opportunities. If we are not united as a nation and do not put our people on the path to unity and cooperation, the enemy will continue to take advantage of us. Thus, it tried to aggravate the situation of hatred and prejudice in Pakistan thorough its agents and the opponent of the ideology on which Pakistan was established. These feelings were suppressed because of the great struggle for establishing Pakistan and the clear and well-defined ideology or were eliminated by a strong leader. The situation now is that we have Punjabis, Mohajirs, Sindhis, Pushtoons, and Balochis as well as Shias, Sunnis, Devibands, and Barelvis living here. We do not have anyone who is proud of being a Pakistani or a Muslim. It is the duty of our religious and political leadership that they do something for Islam and Pakistan and take steps at every front to eliminate the elements that divide our nation into factions. The real responsibility is with the government that has the rein of the nation in its hands. Incidentally, they also are associated with the Quaid-i Azam's party, the Muslim League. The prime minister has expressed his determination to ban factional and sectarian groups and is risking his position. This certainly will help our nation and the people if we eliminate

all kind of sectarianism and encourage the emergence of an Islamic identity. In this context, rational religious scholars and highly placed imams should play their required roles and not permit the inclusion of prejudice and hatred in the holy teachings of Islam. They should not allow the killings of each other over differences. These people who believe in one Allah, one Book, and one faith are like various kind of flowers in the garden of Islam and they should not waste their ardors against each others. Instead, they should unite in a jihad against the enemies of Islam and put Pakistan on the path of progress to make Pakistan a fort the way they did with their struggle during the 1940's to establish Pakistan. They should eliminate all factionalism the same way as they did during the 1946-47 immortal leadership. The prime minister had mentioned sacrificing power for eliminating factionalism. He has, however, failed to mention organizations that spread racism, regionalism, and sectarianism. He used to mention these earlier. These organizations are responsible for all kinds of violence in our country.

Because the present government used the name of Quaid-i Azam and the Muslim League, it is its fundamental responsibility to do its duty to eliminate all kinds of prejudices. It is, however, a disgraceful fact that it shared power with a factional party, and there are still some people in its ranks that are strict followers of the philosophy of factionalism, which even the former Soviet Union has given up. These people considered Hindus and Muslims two separate groups in the undivided India and strongly opposed the two-nation theory, however, they refuse to see a Muslim nation in Pakistan. They insist on dividing it into four different nations. It is obvious that until factionalist, sectarian, and regional organizations are not banned, the government's goals cannot be achieved. It would be better if the government gets rid of such people and focusses on protecting and encouraging the principles that help national unity. Until the government does not become "fundamental" in real sense, and continues to humor such organizations to protect its own hold on power, the way to national unity will not be paved. All elements responsible for spreading discord among the Muslims are candidates for jails whether they do this in the name of religion, language, race, state, or sects. All such people should be arrested and the government should not show any weakness or discrimination in this context.

Government's Economic Performance Analyzed*92AS1537A Karachi JANG in Urdu 30 Aug 92 p 3*

[Article by Nadeem Akhtar: "An Analysis of Government's Economic Performance"]

[Text] Federal Minister Sartaj Aziz has presented a detailed analysis of his government's economic program for the last 20 months in a press conference. He compared the present IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government's and the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government's 20 months and declared the former government's performance disappointing. It would have been better if the honorable minister had not presented this economic analysis within the political framework because of the pressure on the government from opposition parties. Our country is facing a very serious economic crisis at present and both the government and the opposition must give priority to economic programs over their immediate political interests. After taking a look at the statistics presented by the minister it is important to analyze how correct and significant the assumptions are that the government economic experts have presented.

Just like most other Third World countries, our nation is also suffering from a scarcity of capital for investments. Capital cannot be created by printing currency notes; it is created by increasing production and profits. That is why developing countries have to depend mostly on other countries for capital. Mr. Sartaj Aziz has shared some information, which appears to be good news. He said that there has been a 48-percent increase in personal investments within one year. In 1990-91, 64 billion rupees were invested and this amount increased to 113.5 billion rupees in 1991-92. The minister did not explain what categories of investments he included in this figure. The doubling of personal investments within one year is not an ordinary indicator. Even the countries with much higher GNP's [gross national product] than ours do not have such a high increase in personal investments. In this context, it is clear that the 10 billion rupees and an additional loan of 19 billion rupees that the industrialists paid to the government to purchase 44 units were included in these figures as personal investments. This shows that the actual increase in personal investments last year was 20.6 billion rupees, and not 49.6 billion rupees. The economic analysis also shows increase in foreign investments. A total of \$162 million was invested from abroad in 1990-91, which increased to \$257 million in 1991-92. At the same time, they admitted that the goal for exports was not met, and there was an increase in imports. The exports increased by 23.7 percent last year, while this increase in 1991-92 is only 11.2 percent. Compared to it, imports increased by 20 percent. During that year, products worth \$9.14 billion were imported and \$6.81 billion was earned from exports. This resulted in a trade deficit of \$2.32 billion. In other words, we can say that while there was an increase of \$95 million in foreign investments, \$2.32 billion went abroad because of the trade imbalance. One major source of foreign exchange is the money that Pakistanis working abroad

sent here. According to the economic analysis, this amount decreased by 20.61 percent. In 1990-91, \$1.8 billion were remitted home to Pakistan, and this amount was decreased by \$380 million to \$1.5 billion in 1991-92. In light of these figures, one question arises: Where did the minister get the money to show the worth of foreign exchange reserve at \$1 billion? Perhaps the money that people had deposited in foreign currency accounts was included in the foreign exchange reserves figures. This is not appropriate according to economic principles because the money deposited in foreign currency accounts is kept in trust and should be returned on demand.

Mr. Sartaj Aziz said in his economic analysis that inflation has been 14.4 percent during the last 20 months. Some government sources even say that the inflation rate is only 10 percent. The World Bank places the inflation rate at 20 percent. Even when we accept the finance minister's figures over the World Bank figures, his claim for a slow increase in the prices of necessary commodities cannot be correct. In this context, nongovernmental economic experts are correct in their estimation that prices have increased by 20 percent during the last 20 months.

The above appraisal indicates that Mr. Sartaj Aziz has been less realistic and more political.

Paper Reports Interviews With Finance Minister**VOA Interview***92AS1552A Quetta BALOCHISTAN TIMES in English
17 Aug 92 pp 1, 6*

[Article: "Pakistan Wants Free Trade Between Regional Countries, Says Sartaj"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 16. Federal Minister for Finance Sartaj Aziz has said that Pakistan wants the trade between the regional countries should be free as it is in the interest of all the countries.

In an interview with VOA [Voice of America], he said the just concluded visit to Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov, had been very important as five bilateral agreements were signed between the two countries. Senator Sartaj Aziz said that Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif during his visit to Uzbekistan in June last had offered to provide transit facilities to Tashkent for its trade with far East, Korea, Japan via Karachi port.

He said if a communication link is established between Pakistan and Uzbekistan via Afghanistan, trade will be facilitated.

The Finance Minister said that Pakistan and Uzbekistan have signed an agreement to open communication links including telegrams, fax and telephone. The other important matter was the construction of a highway via Afghanistan.

Mr. Sartaj Aziz said Pakistan, Uzbekistan and Afghanistan signed a trilateral memorandum on July 16 regarding improving roads-network. As soon as peace returns in Afghanistan, this link will be established.

He said Afghans are also very keen for trade among the regional countries because it is in the interest of Afghanistan which will soon join the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO).

Mr. Sartaj Aziz said that the investors from Korea and Japan have told us that the facilities they are going to install in Pakistan will also meet the requirements of the Central Asian States. Therefore, it will emerge as a big trading bloc, he added. But if Iran and Turkey also join the Central Asian Republics and Pakistan, it will emerge as a very big trading bloc, the Finance Minister remarked.

He said that Daewoo has also acquired a 500 acre industrial estate in Pakistan where it will install twenty factories in different fields. These factories will be able to supply their products to the entire region, he said and added that it will further improve the investment prospects in Pakistan as a result of which the trade will also expand.

Mr. Sartaj Aziz said that the road built up to Uzbekistan can be used in transporting commodities to Tajikistan and Turkmenistan also, similarly our communications links with one country can easily be extended to other countries of the region.—APP.

Interview With Indian Paper

92AS1552B *Quetta BALOCHISTAN TIMES in English*
17 Aug 92 p 6

[Article: "Sartaj's Interview; Speedy Privatisation Necessary, as Losses Become Unbearable"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 16. Federal Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz has said that speedy privatisation process in the country was necessary as the losses to national economy from a huge public sector have become unbearable.

These losses are running at Rs [Rupees] 500-600 million a year the Pakistan Finance Minister was quoted as saying in a Gemini news article which appeared in daily TRIBUNE of Chandigarh (India) last Saturday.

Speed, Sartaj Aziz said, did not mean that rules and regulations were being compromised the Finance Minister said that privatisation should not be seen in isolation but as part of overall policy to open up the economy to private sector and foreign investors.

THE GEMINI news correspondent wrote that Rupees four billion had so far been earned from privatisation and these proceeds would partly be used for developing the social infrastructure in the country and partly to rehabilitate workers who lose their jobs through privatisation.

The article says that privatisation process picked up after the Government signed an agreement with the state enterprises employees giving them job security for at least one year besides the facility to form employees management groups to bid for the industries in which they are working.

In just 20 months 35 state-owned industrial units have been transferred to the private sector while another 21 were in different stages of privatisation, it said.

If further said that of the two public sector banks sold to the private sector, the privatisation of Allied Bank Ltd. was unique in being sold to its employees who pooled their resources and secured personal loans to pay for the shares. Now from the President to the lowest paid employee all are share-holders in the bank, the article says.

It said that initially private companies were less than enthusiasm [as published] investing in the loss-making public sector enterprises as none of the 20 units offered for sale could attract even two bids.

Then in August 1991 the government decided to offer 100 units for sale at one time, leading to 35 units being privatised. The Privatisation Commission an autonomous body answerable only to the Cabinet Committee on Privatisation headed by Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz, hopes to complete its work by the end of next year.

The Commission was set up to expedite privatisation and save it from bureaucratic red tape, says the article. The government also plans to privatise the huge public sector corporations running the telecommunication networks, railways and electricity.

Pakistan is trying hard to achieve the distinction of being the country with the fast record of privatisation.—APP.

Sharif Interviewed on Plans for the Economy

92AS1554A *Quetta BALOCHISTAN TIMES in English*
16 Aug 92 pp 1, 6

[Article: "PM's Interview to KHALEEJ TIMES: Economic Policies and Measures Start Producing Positive Results, Says Nawaz"]

[Text] Dubai Aug 15. Prime Minister Mr. Mohammad Nawaz Sharif has said it is too early to assess fully the impact of economic reforms introduced by his Government in the economy.

The data available so far in respect of various economic and social indicators reveal that these policies and measures have started producing positive results. These results are considered satisfactory as a whole, he said in an interview, published in the special Independence Day supplement of the UAE [United Arab Emirates] English Daily "KHALEEJ TIMES" on Friday.

"He said that the major objective of his policies is to convert the Pakistan economy: from a relatively closed and inward-looking one to one that it open and outwards looking."

The Prime Minister said in the 45 years since Independence the Pakistani economy had undergone major structural change with the share of manufacturing going up from 8 percent in 1949-50 18 percent currently.

He agreed that a lot more is needed to be done in developing the infrastructure in order to attract capital and to let it work to the advantage of the country.

The Government, he added, has chalked out major plans for the development of roads. National Highway Authority, established recently has planned projects worth Rs [Rupees] 78 billion. The projects to be completed by December 1994, include the construction of Indus highway from Peshawar to Karachi rehabilitation and dualisation of Grand Trunk Road from Peshawar to Karachi and Pakistan Motorway from Lahore, to Islamabad, Islamabad to Peshawar, Pindi Bhttain to Faisalabad-Multan-Dera Ghazi Khan-Ratodero-Gwdur and Karachi.

Work on Lowari Tunnel will be started in addition the Murree-Rawalpindi dual carriageway will be constructed. The road from Mansehra-Naran-Chilla, Saidu Sharif Baharin and Barian-Nathiagali-Abottabad will be improved to attract tourists.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif said, "We plan to establish industrial estates on the interchanges of the Pakistan Motorway. Apart from industrial estates, we will provide facilities of petrol pump, hospitals restaurants, hotel and public call offices at every interchange of Pakistan Motorway projects."

In the ports sector, Karachi, Port Trust will be brought at par with international standard with the provision of modern navigation system. Port Qasim is being extended to cater for heavy cargo. Gwadur Port is being revamped. In addition to Jinnah Terminal a new oil terminal is being completed at Karachi Port with financial assistance of private sector.

He explained that the agenda of privatisation covers a wide spectrum of industries, banks telecommunication, electric power, etc. In the industrial sector, we have identified more than 100 industrial enterprises for privatisation and have succeeded in privatising more than 50 units at a price of about Rs 10 billion.

"We are planning to privatise PIA [Pakistan International Airlines], power plants and Pakistan Telecommunication Corporation. Separate commissions have been set up to carry out privatisation in the power and telecommunication sectors.

"We are also introducing privatisation in other sectors of the economy like railways, road construction, port and shipping. Pakistan Steel Mills is not at the moment on

the privatisation list. It will however, be considered in the next phase of privatisation" he added.

Asked whether developments like the situation in Sindh or the recent Shariah Court verdicts have and any negative impact on the overall economic scene, particularly where foreign capital is concerned, the Prime Minister replied. "The situation in Sindh has considerably improved after operation clean up. Things, are moving forward as usual and it had no adverse effect on the economic scene of the country."

"As [not legible] as the impact of the recent Shariah Court Verdict regarding the unislamic practice of Riba on the overall economy in Pakistan is concerned, an appeal has been filed against the verdict with the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The Federal Government is waiting for decision of the Supreme Court and would take appropriate action after the decision of the Court is received," he said.

To another question he said Overseas Pakistanis have played a pivotal role in the economy through massive infusion of funds in the shape of foreign remittances.

For the further, it is expected that as a result of the privatisation deregulation policy, provision of adequate infrastructure, generous tax holidays and liberal incentives for maintenance of foreign exchange accounts given by the present Government a positive and healthy response would be forthcoming from them.

He agreed that tourism is an important segment of economy and can play a major role in overall development and economic uplift of the country. The Government has recently provided a revolving credit lien of Rs. 500 million exclusively for private sector. Not only this, he said, he has also sanctioned a special grant of Rs. 32.9 million to launch a publicity and promotion campaign in foreign targeted markets.

He said for development of basic and essential necessary infrastructure, he has also sanctioned over Rs. 200 million during 1992-93. He pointed out that it is for the first time, the Government has taken into consideration all 3 important sectors, responsible for promotion of tourism in the country, i.e. the private sector, public sector and marketing by effective publicity and promotion.—PPI

Unemployment Statistics for 1991-92 Released

92AS1567A Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
8 Aug 92 p 7

[Article: "Unemployment Rate 3.13 pc (percent) During 1991-92"]

[Text] Karachi: Aug 7: The unemployment rate in Pakistan during 1991-92 was estimated at 3.13 percent, 2.60 percent rural and 4.58 percent urban, according to official statistics.

The unemployment and under-employment was attributed mainly due to rapid population growth, decline in the absorptive capacity of the economy, particularly agriculture and large-scale manufacturing sectors, inflexibility in the rural labour market and urban/rural migration.

During 1991-92 the labour force was estimated to increase by 3.1 percent over last year.

The population of Pakistan on January 1, 1992 was estimated at 117.32 million and the labour force being estimated at 33.82 million out of which 32.76 million persons were employed while 1.06 million were reported unemployed. The unemployment rate thus worked out was 3.13 percent.

According to an official report, agriculture was the main absorbent of the labour force (51.15 percent) followed by industry (12.69 percent and trade 11.93 percent).

Based on labour-force survey 1987-88, the literacy rate of total employed persons in the country was estimated at 64.44 percent. Out of estimated labour force for 33.82 million, 24.70 million was rural and 9.12 million on urban. About one million new workers enter the labour force every year.

An estimated 1.06 million of the labour force was unemployed in 1991-92 which was 1.03 million in 1990-91 showing an annual addition of 0.3 million unemployed in the labour force.

According to ILO [International Labor Office], the participation rates in Pakistan were relatively low. The male participation rate was quite comparable with other developing countries. The female participation rate is exceptionally low because of cultural factors, under-reporting of female workers, especially in the non-wage sector, as well as non-availability of suitable jobs.

The share of agriculture sector which was as high as 60 percent in 1963-64 had declined to 49 percent in 1986-87, but again slightly increased to 51 percent in 1990-91.

The second major sector was manufacturing which accounts for nearly 13 percent of the employed labour force. Trade, construction and transport were other major sectors which provided employment with trade 12 percent, construction 5.38 percent and transport 4.89 percent showing a considerable increase over 1963-64.

Near half of the employed persons in Pakistan were agricultural workers, whereas production workers were 25.67 percent of the employed labour force.

As a result of the present policies of the Government which aim at gradual industrialisation in the country, particularly in the rural areas, it was expected to bring down the relative share of agriculture sector and raise that of the production workers.

According to official sources in open unemployment rate of 3.13 percent in 1991-92 does not appear too high as compared to those prevailing in other countries.—APP.

Middle Class Claimed 'Fast Disappearing'

92AS1547G Karachi DAWN in English 27 Aug 92 p 7

[Article by Saquib Yusuf: "The Widening Gap"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] At the side of the railway line, in front of the hovels and by the open drains, where the stray dogs scavenge in the collected refuse of days, they are holding a meeting. They gather almost reluctantly, taking care to stick closely together, each with a wary eye on the masses of policemen who are swaggering around looking for an excuse to wade into and set about the crowd.

They are dressed in the barely clean clothes of the lower grade office workers, the rickshaw driver, the postman, bus conductor and others of their social standing. The hair is generally worn greasy and handkerchiefs are draped around their necks to keep further oil, sweat and grime away from already dirty shirt collars. A few wave ragged red tridents that a flustered organiser is distributing amongst the turnout.

At the front of the mob one or two have peeled off their shirts to reveal underfed torsos that have assumed shapes the original architect could not have intended. A banner, laboriously written informs those of the participants and passers-by who help to form the percentage points that make up the government's literate, that the protest is against the high prices of essentials that are making it impossible for the protesters to feed their families.

Outside the High Court, those driving to work in the morning are alerted to an impending protest meeting by the presence of police trucks parked across the road. Despite the gathering heat, the policemen are to exercise discretion and not to provoke any trouble by remaining inside their transports. Around 11:00 am the chauffeur driven protesters are dropped off at the gates. The clothes are starched, the fashions from Bombay and Libas, the perfumes strong enough to last the rigours of the expected distance.

The Police officers recognise and exchange greetings with the glitterati amongst the elite. Mobile phones are used to find out why old so and so has not turned up for the cause. Neatly written banners are unfurled. Traffic policemen hold up the cursing traffic and the protesters are off to tell the Governor of their problems. A few wheezing police officers bring up the rear, and the chauffeurs' procession of empty cars follows, the men at the wheels marvelling at the sight of their walking masters.

Since 1988, the pace at which the gap between the rich and the poor—the two classes that now make up this country—has been increasing is astonishing. The out and

out corrupt system under which this country operates, despite its rhetorical stress upon the code of Islam and the veneer of parliamentary democracy, and the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government's thrusts—the sops to the microscopic few of taxis for the unemployed or loans for small businesses notwithstanding—pander to the rich and the “haves”. The middle class, a section of society whose ranks are bulging in neighbouring India, is largely succumbing to the devastating tides of high unemployment, rising prices and official neglect, and is being washed up on the rocky beaches already populated by the poor. Some are lucky or resourceful enough to find their way onto luxury liners and to enter the ranks of the rich, but either way the middle class—the link between the poor and the rich—is a fast disappearing breed in today's polarised society.

What dimensions can the resulting gap take on before it becomes economically impractical and humanly impossible to bridge it? Does the government even recognise what it is doing to the social fabric of the country? The government's oft-repeated claims of the success of its economic initiatives appear largely to be based upon the effect that they are having upon the class from which both the government and the opposition are drawn; the remnants of the nobility that the British gratefully created and thrust upon us, the landed aristocracy, the industrialists and the otherwise dubiously monied.

Having pushed through motorways, forcefully brushed aside the co-ops, sped up the privatisation process, the government has for some reason been unable to come up with meaningful policies, let alone action, for, say, labour or education, areas in which dynamic leadership and positive action could have led to long term benefits for the population as a whole.

In the meantime, the poor become poorer and the gap becomes wider. In the years since 1988 prices have risen dramatically. This cannot just be taken as a reflection on civilian government but must allow also for the changing global situation. The prevailing prices of the basics, flour, bread, milk, etc., bear no relations to income levels. Despite the oft-voiced concern of the Prime Minister and his government and the gimmicks, such as the food stamps scheme to provide flour to the deserving at a reduced cost, there has been no let up for the poor as they struggle to feed themselves.

In fact, for a man who professes his inability to sleep on account of the miserable plight of his countrymen, and who often narrates to audiences the parlous conditions of his heart when it gets around to considering the needy, the Prime Minister (May God ward the evil eye off his robust mien) displays remarkable health. Similarly the stalwarts of the Peoples' Party which grieves endlessly for the roti-less, kapra-less and makan-less are not averse to conspicuous consumption themselves when they might assuage their own feelings by some reticence on those fronts.

It is not just the ability or otherwise to purchase Atta that emphasizes the gap between the rich and the poor. In facts quoted by Dr. Mahbubul Haq from the UNDP [United Nations Development Program] report of 1990, the income disparities between the rich and the poor of the world are shown to be rising in the poorer nations. This kind of disparity is starkly reflected in many aspects of life in Pakistan. For recreation while the rich have covered swimming pools, filtered and chemically treated, the poor wait for the rain to be heavy enough to collect into temporary ponds mixed with slime and gutter water. For education the rich look to the elite institutions, to finishing schools and to foreign varsities; the poor still rely on the government run institutions that go through the motions without aspiring to educate.

For employment the rich have the passports to senior levels of government service, to corporations, to the private sector and the multinationals; the poor are tied to the single digit grades in government service, the jobs that command non-taxable levels of income and the clerical and menial jobs that the British reserved for the natives while they ruled here. In a country in which half the population has no access to safe drinking water, the Lord Mayor of the Lahore Municipal Corporation was brazen enough to serve to his guests, at a recent reception in Shalimar Bagh, bottled mineral water.

Failure to recognise the problem as worthy of its attention could prove costly to the government. The bridge building exercise that needs to be carried out on an emergency basis is not yet even on the agenda. The Prime Minister whose heart bleeds for the poor and who can set up many costly commissions for farcical enquiries into the Bahawalpur crash and the cooperatives scandal, could do worse than to invest some time, thought and money in instituting measures to bridge the unseemly gap that has been created between sections of society.

Air Force Plans To Modernize

92AS1559A Quetta BALOCHISTAN TIMES in English
11 Aug 92 p 1

[Article: "PAF (Pakistan Air Force) To Be Modernised and Strengthened"]

[Text] Rawalpindi, Aug 10. The Federal Minister for Defence Production Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani has vowed to make all out efforts to modernize and strengthen the Pakistan Air Force so as to enhance its capabilities to deter external aggression against security of the country.

He was talking to the Air Chief Marshal Mr. Farooq Feroz Khan who called on the Minister here today.

Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani assured Air Chief Marshal that every possible step would be taken to achieve the highest technical and operational support to the Air Force by the means of providing technical manpower and meeting the monetary requirements of the Pakistan Aeronautical Complex (PAC) Kamra.

He further said that the PAC Kamra has backbone support to PAF in maintaining its defence capabilities. In this context, he maintained, the Complex at Kamra has attained a comprehensive capability which will progressively be continued in achieving high level of technology and excellence.

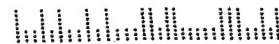
The Project of Manufacturing K-8 light jet trainer aircraft was reviewed and decisions were taken to accelerate the process of indigenisation in the manufacture of the said aircraft in Pakistan and its induction in the PAF in the near future.

The problems related to the operational efficiency and technical support's requirements of the air force came under discussion during the meeting. The present needs and requirements to maximise the indigenisation of air force's rebuild and modernization were also discussed during the meeting.

The Air Force Chief appreciated the assurance.—APP

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